

Valene Manti .



PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND PUBLIC POLICY

by

GORDON ROBINSON

Department of Social Sciences & Economics
Loughborough University of Technology
Loughborough, Leicestershire, LE11 3TU
England

This is the first of a series of monographs to be published by the Department of Economics and the Department of Social Sciences of Loughborough University of Technology.

The series will be entitled "Loughborough Occasional Papers in Economics and Social Research."

No. 1

Gordon Robinson

PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND PUBLIC POLICY

£1.00



PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND PUBLIC POLICY

by

GORDON ROBINSON

Department of Social Sciences & Economics
Loughborough University of Technology
Loughborough, Leicestershire, LE11 3TU
England

December, 1971

PREFACE

It is necessary, at the outset, to explain what has been taken as a "private school" in this study. The independent sector of education comprises a wide variety of schools and the term independent has come to mean "independent of state control" ranging from Eton at one extreme to nursery schools run in private houses in the suburbs at the other. Private schools form a distinct part of the independent sector, yet not all independent schools are private in that they regard some form of corporate control as an essential feature of their schools. Historically, the main feature of private schools is that they are schools run for private profit and are the private property of an individual or group of individuals. In this sense they are no different from an ordinary commercial enterprise in that they are responsible only to the owners within the national legal framework. This definition of private ownership and control has been used in this study, but it is a definition that has undergone some change in recent years as there has been a tendency for some private schools to become educational trusts and the schools of some religious denominations have identified themselves, in terms of their interests, with the private school movement. Private schools may be distinguished from the Public Schools and most of the schools of religious denominations which are not run for private profit and which are responsible to an independent board of governors or similar body. Similarly, although most preparatory schools have been private in the sense of ownership and control, they form a minor part of this study as they occupy a rather anomalous position. Their specific aim is to prepare pupils for the Public Schools with the result that their curriculum and general orientation is determined by the demands made on them by Public Schools through their entrance requirements. There exist, however, preparatory schools in name only which rarely send on boys to the Public Schools. The "progressive" schools also do not, on the whole, fall within the scope of this study as the majority of private schools have been copies of the conventional type of middle class education and they have not been "progressive" in the sense of breaking with tradition in order to experiment with new educational ideas or principles.

Private schools, by their nature as the private property of an individual, have tended to be ephemeral. They have come into existence and ceased to exist, unrecorded until 1957. Their owners, often regarding their schools as businesses, looked on other schools as rivals and failed to develop a community of interest. Because of this ephemeral nature very few records of private schools have survived, in much the same way as one would find it difficult to discover business records of self-employed artisans. In these circumstances it is not surprising that no major work has been written on private schools, as such, and that they have rarely received more than passing reference in British educational studies. Yet the fact that this type of school provision has survived the whole period of the expansion of public education in Britain would indicate that it has a function in relation to the major educational structure. One of the aims of this study has been to examine the nature of the private school since the mid-nineteenth century in the hope that it might throw some light on this major structure and also on the class structure of this country. Most of this study is descriptive, in that it is a chronological account of the relations between the private sector and the state, but a sociological explanation of the function of private schools is attempted in the final chapter.

From a methodological point of view, the main difficulty in this study has been focusing the source material. In order to overcome this difficulty, it was decided to base the study on the Private Schools Association (now Independent Schools Association) which has

been in continuous existence since 1878. Those who joined this Association saw themselves as "private schools" and it has been a defensive organisation aimed at protecting its members from outside interference. It has maintained a journal, Secondary Education, now The Independent School, since 1896 which has provided the only continuous set of records concerning private schools. It is possible through the Association to see how issues have arisen and taken shape and it has also collected the opinions and expressed the aspirations and fears of those private schools that wished to organise themselves. This would not have been possible had individual schools been studied. Unfortunately, there is no way of taking account of the majority of private schools that stayed outside the Association except by studying them from another viewpoint. An attempt has been made to do this by examining official sources which have looked at private schools as a whole. The study, of necessity, has concentrated on the views of proprietors of private schools, leaving the assistants and pupils within them as an inarticulate mass. As these groups were not in any way organised, a separate study involving the use of extensive indirect sources would have been necessary in order to find out more about them.

A considerably larger version of this study was presented as a University of London M.A. thesis in 1966.⁽¹⁾ Readers requiring information in greater detail are referred to this thesis which also contains an appendix on the preparatory schools and a bibliography containing detailed information about the location of lesser known journals.

Assistance has been given by many associations and individuals in preparing this study to whom thanks are due, but thanks are especially due to Mr. W.H.S. Curryer, former Secretary of the Independent Schools Association, who provided a considerable amount of information about the current state of private schools as well as in helping to trace source material: to the late Miss Sarah Dowling, former Assistant Secretary of the Independent Schools Association and Headmistress of Beulah House High School, London, who went to great lengths to provide information and who was able to answer questions from a life-time of teaching in private schools: to Mrs. M.A. Burton the present Secretary of the Independent Schools Association: to the late Mr. Richard Hickman for access to documents of the National Union of Teachers: to Mr. J. Vincent Chapman, Secretary of the College of Preceptors, for information from the College records: to Miss P.M. Downie, former Librarian, Department of Education and Science: to my former colleague at the University of York, Colin B. Campbell, for help in discussing the sociological aspects of Chapter 8. Above all, thanks are due to Dr. George Baron of the University of London Institute of Education under whose supervision this study was first undertaken, without whose constant encouragement, advice and infinite patience it would never have been completed.

A substantial part of Chapter 7 has already appeared as an article in the District Bank Review, September, 1967, and I am grateful to the District Bank for permission for it to be used in this book.

Loughborough University of Technology,
April, 1971.

Gordon Robinson

(1) Gordon Brian Robinson, "A study of the Private Schools Association (latterly Independent Schools) in relation to changing policies in the administration of education by national and local government agencies, 1880 - 1944", Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of London, 1966.

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Chapter 1 The Suppliers of Secondary Education	1
Chapter 2 The Demand For a National System	19
Chapter 3 The 1902 Act : The Secondary Problem Tackled	37
Chapter 4 The Emergence of a National System, 1903 - 1918	42
Chapter 5 "Modus Vivendi", 1918 - 1944	58
Chapter 6 An Established Position, 1944	81
Chapter 7 The Present Position	94
Chapter 8 The Private School Function	129
Bibliography	135
Abbreviations used in text	137

CHAPTER 1

THE SUPPLIERS OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

General Situation

The last quarter of the 19th century was a period of great educational change and unrest. The private schools found themselves on the fringe of an emerging national system of education and struggled restlessly to find a place where they would fit in.

At the time of the Schools Inquiry Commission, 1868, the only secondary education available to the children of the middle and working classes was provided by the endowed and private schools. The wealthier members of society sent their sons to the exclusive public schools, where they received an education aimed at making them the leaders of society, and where they would be kept apart from the rest of society.

The state had already looked into the condition of the leading public schools of the wealthy and into the elementary education of the poor. The Schools Inquiry Commission completed the picture of the state of English education by looking at the endowed and private schools, or, in other words, at secondary education.

Many of the endowed schools had fallen into decay, others were hopelessly inefficient or were clinging to a classical curriculum not wanted by the majority of middle class parents. At the same time, these schools were situated away from the new industrial areas whose populations were left without any provision for secondary education.

The private schools attempted to fill the gaps left in the secondary system, either by providing a school where there was none before, or by providing a syllabus of modern subjects more in line with the requirements of the middle classes. There was no coherent national system of education, with the consequence that the whole field was wide open to private enterprise.

The problem of elementary education was tackled in 1870, when School Boards were established to fill the gaps in the voluntary system, but the efforts to deal with secondary education were tentative. The Endowed Schools Act, 1869, established the Endowed Schools Commission, a body empowered to make schemes for the better government and management of endowed schools, and over the next few years the Commissioners were successful in reviving many of the schools for which they were responsible.

Founding of A.P.P.S.

These first moves on the part of the state, tentative though they were at this stage, were enough to rouse the private schools to action. As early as 1845 an essay advocating the advantages that would follow the setting up of a College of Schoolmasters was read before the Royal Literary and Scientific Society at Brighton. The result was the setting up of the College of Preceptors by private schoolmasters the following year, but the College was not developed sufficiently by private schools and it extended its interests, through the Scholastic Registration movement, to elementary school teachers. By the 1870's private schoolmasters no longer looked to the College as their defensive organisation. Some of the more public-spirited private schoolmasters, seeing their own position in danger, began to combine. A group of Sussex schoolmasters, led by John Stewart, sent

out a circular inviting principals of private schools to a dinner to be held at the Holborn Restaurant on January 8, 1878. This was the first of what was to become a series of annual dinners. At the second of these dinners on January 2, 1879, it was decided to form an Association of the Principals of Private Schools. It was felt that not enough was known about the nature and work of private schools generally, whilst with the new developments in education, the position of private schools was endangered. The dangers were described by Dr. W. Porter Knightley,

The private Schoolmaster is surrounded by hosts of opposing forces, which must inevitably limit his field of action, if they do not annihilate his professional existence.⁽¹⁾

These opposing forces really amounted to any other form of secondary education. The private schoolmasters saw their field scorned by the public schools and trespassed upon by the new or reformed educational institutions.

In the upper stratum of society we have the unreasoning preference given to our great Public Schools, not because they profess to give a higher education than we can impart; - but because of the greater prestige that is supposed to attach to their social influence.⁽²⁾

In addition to the public schools, according to Dr. Knightley, the private schools had to contend with unfair competition from the endowed schools, from proprietary schools and from the extension of School Boards with grades, "and their unscrupulous admission of pupils whose parents ought to pay for a higher education from their own resources In all of these we have either the amassed wealth of old endowments; or the voluntary subscriptions of the people for the erection of costly school-houses, and the payment of theoretical masters."⁽³⁾ Dr. Knightley put forward the rather strange argument that whilst the principle of co-operation and joint stock enterprise was legitimate enough in the physical sphere, when used for building railways and factories, its use was inappropriate and highly injurious when it involved the mental and moral. As a consequence the employment of public money on education was a heavy blow and great discouragement to the spirit of private enterprise. Another speaker, Mr. Albert Creak of Brighton, argued that the element of charity in education must be eliminated altogether, except in the case of the destitute, and that all educational endowments should be abolished.

Every generation had to do its own educational work, and the endowment of butchers' shops was just as reasonable as that of schools for any save the pauper class.⁽⁴⁾

(1) A.P.P.S. "Occasional Paper, No. 1." "Prospects and Responsibilities of the Private Schoolmaster" by Dr. W. Porter Knightley, pp. 6-11.

(2) Ibid, p. 7.

(3) Ibid, p. 7.

(4) The Times, Friday, Jan. 3, 1879, p. 4. "Head-Masters of Private Schools".

Commenting on this attack on all forms of educational effort other than private enterprise, The Times wrote,

The educational facilities afforded at such establishments are, it would appear, regarded much in the same light as prison labour by matmakers These worthy gentlemen are going through the process commonly known as knocking their heads against a stone wall when they declaim against endowed or co-operative education. The whole framework of English society is a network of co-operation and endowment. (5)

Though the private schoolmasters had a sense of wrong and oppression, because they had been left out of the Headmasters' Conference, "Such headmasters, when they deliberate, are consulting not how to emancipate themselves, but how most firmly to rivet their claims on the neck of the nation." (6)

As a result of their feelings of insecurity the private schoolmasters decided to combine. At the end of the meeting a resolution, proposed by John Stewart, was passed that an Association should be formed, whilst another resolution stated that,

The object of the Association be - to unite the members in a common bond, to protect the interests of the profession, and to hold periodical meetings in London or elsewhere for the discussion of Educational topics, more especially such as relate to the position and status of the Private Schoolmaster.

A committee was also formed to carry out the above resolutions. (7)

Before looking at the way in which the private schools attempted to defend their position against the changes taking place in education, it would be as well to state what the private schools were, what they attempted to do, and how large a proportion the private schools formed of the total educational provision of the country.

Private Schools as the suppliers of secondary education

Private schoolmasters saw themselves as the suppliers of secondary education. The term 'secondary education' is extremely difficult to define, because in this period it could mean any form of education coming between elementary education - on the one hand - and university education on the other. In common usage, the term generally meant education for the middle classes. Because of this tendency to define secondary education in terms of social class rather than in terms of the kind of education, it meant that all private schools claimed to be secondary, since they educated the middle classes. One

(5) The Times, Tuesday, Jan. 7, 1879, p. 7.

(6) *Ibid*, p. 7.

(7) Occasional Paper, No. 1, "Memorandum of Proceedings", pp. 1-3.

writer divided the schools of the country, above elementary, into two large classes, which, since no hard and fast line could be drawn between them, tended to overlap. The first group he saw as the public schools and larger endowed schools and those private schools dependent on them for their existence, that is, the preparatory schools:

On the other side we may range the private schools - schools which are conducted solely by individual enterprise, and mainly supported by what our Socialist friends would call the 'comfortable classes'. (8)

Three grades of secondary education

The Schools Inquiry Commission, 1868, was the first real attempt on the part of the Government to look at secondary education. In their Report, the Commissioners had suggested that there were three grades of middle class education roughly corresponding to the grades of society. These three grades might be classified according to the age at which the children left school and the occupations they subsequently followed. The first grade corresponded to the great public schools, where the leaving age would be 18 or 19, and where the emphasis in the curriculum would be on the classics with some mathematics, modern languages and science.

Second grade schools, in general, would have a leaving age of 16; the curriculum would be less classical, no Greek but some Latin, and would be more concerned with a "thorough knowledge of those subjects which can be turned to practical use in business, English, Arithmetic, the rudiments of Mathematics beyond Arithmetic, in some cases natural science, in some cases a modern language." (9)

The third grade schools would be intended for children leaving school at the age of 14 who would come from "a class distinctly lower in the scale, but so numerous as to be quite as important as any: the smaller tenant farmers, the small tradesmen, the superior artisans." (10) It was thought that children from this class required a severely practical education "what is called a clerk's education; namely, a thorough knowledge of Arithmetic, and ability to write a good letter." (11)

Only a few private schools aspired to give an education of the first grade. Most private schools were schools of the second and third grades,

But in by far the larger number of private schools the chief educational aim has been to impart to the pupils that quantum of knowledge which is termed a sound commercial education to fit the boys of England for business and professional life. (12)

(8) The Private Schoolmaster, Feb. 15, 1888, unsigned article "At the Parting of the Ways", pp. 76-78.

(9) Schools Inquiry Commission, Report of the Commissioners, H.M.S.O., 11643-45, 1868. Vol. 1, p.20.

(10) *Ibid*, p. 20.

(11) *Ibid*, p. 20.

(12) The Private Schoolmaster, Sept. 1888, Special Supplement. "The Private Schoolmaster: His Position and His Prospects" by Arthur Montefiore, F.R.G.S., pp. 1-7.

The changes in the 19th century had brought about an increased demand for secondary education, whilst the existing educational endowments had not been sufficient to supply more than a small proportion of the demand. At the same time a new type of secondary education was required and the grammar schools had been slow to adapt themselves to the changing needs. Private schools had come into being to remedy both deficiencies. They supplied an education where none existed, or they supplied an education more in keeping with the requirements of parents.

English parents lost confidence in the grammar schools because of their inability to provide an education suitable to the needs of the children. (13) Not only did they turn away from the grammar school, but they came to regard any form of classical education as inimical to their interests. The private schools operated according to the principle of supply and demand. Being in private hands and not bound by an ancient endowment, the private school was at complete liberty to be adapted to the needs of the moment. The principal

is able, and he desires to meet and provide for the special need of every boy. He answers the question 'What can you teach my boy?' with another: 'What do you wish him to learn?' Whatever the parent, in reason, demand, the private schoolmaster is able, is there on purpose to supply. (14)

It is not surprising to find that the curriculum of the private school contained more modern subjects than the grammar school. As Montefiore argued,

The increasing competition in all the walks of life and the growing claim for more suitable preparation find him standing in an unique position to satisfy the need. He thus becomes a man to be reckoned with, a factor in the working of demand and supply, an indispensable agent. Occasionally he may appear to revolve with the veering wind, but nevertheless his feet are on rock. . . . Pupils are sent to private schools for a well-defined purpose, and they expect to be successfully prepared for it. (15)

Private schoolmasters also claimed that because their schools were smaller than grammar schools, they were able to give their pupils a greater amount of individual attention.

Broadly, then, private education may be divided into the method which substitutes for home education a condition of things as nearly similar to it as possible. (16)

(13) Schools Inquiry Commission, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 300.

(14) The Private Schoolmaster, Special Supplement, Sept. 1888, op. cit., p. 1.

(15) *Ibid*, pp. 1 and 2.

(16) *Ibid*, p. 1.

The very essence of a private school is that the master is a private tutor. Public schools are for boys who, like sheep, feed mentally best together, or who have independence enough to distinguish themselves from the crowd, and to appropriate the intellectual nourishment which is thrown broadcast for the soil to receive as it will. (17)

The Commissioners found that, very often, the commercial subjects taught in private schools, were worse taught than in the grammar schools, and, in fact, the claim to greater individual attention was often achieved at the expense of all class teaching. The teacher's efforts were dissipated by the pupil getting one fortieth of the teacher's time as individual tuition. At the same time, although parents' wishes would be taken into consideration, this often led to unnecessary meddling by the parents, in the affairs of the school, as many of the parents had been poorly educated themselves and were unable to judge the value of the subjects studied.

Statistics of Private Education: Return of 1897

Since the state did not provide any form of secondary education, no official statistics were collected and, at the time of the Commission, very little was known about the provision of secondary education apart from that provided by the endowed schools. It was known that the private schools provided most of the second and third grade schools, but how many private schools existed or how many pupils were in them was unknown. A special enquiry was carried out by the Education Department in 1897 which gave some idea of the extent and nature of private education. (18) Some ten to eleven thousand letters were sent out and replies were received from 6,209 schools, containing 291,544 pupils on June 1, 1897. Of these, 5,167 were private enterprise schools containing 152,930 pupils. That is to say, 83% of the schools professing to give secondary education were in private hands and contained 52% of the pupils receiving secondary education.

The Return of 1897 certainly substantiated the claim of the private schools that they were responsible for most of the education of the middle classes. This was even truer in the case of the education of girls, for 91% of the girls' schools in the Return were private enterprise schools, containing 70% of the girls receiving secondary education. It was true, too, that most private schools were small - only 2.3% had over 100 pupils. More interesting is the ratio of pupils per teacher. Despite the gibes made about the staffs of private schools, the ratio of pupils per full-time graduate teacher was the same between private enterprise and endowed schools for both boys' and girls' schools.

(17) The Times, Tues., Jan. 7, 1879, p. 7.

(18) U.K., Education Department. Return of the Pupils in Public and Private Secondary and other Schools (Not being Public Elementary or Technical Schools) in England (Excluding Monmouthshire) and of the Teaching Staff in Such Schools on 1st June, 1897, with Introductory Memorandum. H.M.S.O., 1898, C. - 8634.

Type of Control	Pupils per Full-time Graduate Teacher		Pupils per Full-time Teacher (Graduate or non-Graduate)	
	Boys' schools	Girls' schools	Boys' schools	Girls' schools
Private enterprise	28.3	76.1	11.1	8.3
Endowed	28.5	75.9	18.2	18.1

When one takes the ratio of pupils per teacher, irrespective of whether the teacher is a graduate or not, the private enterprise schools appear in a much more favourable light. From these figures, it would appear that the private school claim to be able to give greater attention to their pupils would be justified. The average size of private schools was 33 children compared with 131 children for endowed schools.

It would be misleading, however, to infer that these schools formed a single category. In fact, many of the schools included in the Return were practically primary in character, but since no general system of general inspection of all schools existed, it was impossible for the Education Department to classify the schools. Just under 10% of the private schools in the Return had no pupils over the age of 12, whilst over a quarter (27%) of all private schools had no pupils over the age of 14. It may be assumed that these schools were either primary schools or schools of the third grade, as defined by the Schools Inquiry Commission. The remainder of the private schools, roughly three-quarters, would have been schools of the second or first grade, though it was impossible to say whether or not they were carrying out their task efficiently; in fact, the Commissioners thought that the majority of private schools did not rise above the third grade.

Although, as has been pointed out above, private schools compared favourably with endowed schools with regard to the ratio of pupils per teacher, it was in fact, with regard to the staff that the private schools laid themselves most open to attack. Of the 5,167 private schools, 3,592 (i.e. 69.5%) had no graduate teachers inclusive of the head teacher. Owing to the absence of opportunity for women at this time, one could not expect to find many graduates in girls' schools, yet in boys' schools 41% of the schools did not have a graduate, compared with 10.8% of boys' endowed schools. In mixed schools, as a group, the weakest of the private schools in every respect, the proportion of schools without a graduate teacher was 86.3%. Private schoolmasters claimed that being a graduate did not make a man a good schoolmaster, but that he needed to learn a great deal about the art of teaching. True as this may be, there was at least some minimal guarantee of scholarship if a man were a graduate. In the absence of any form of inspection or examination of private schools there was at the time no other way of judging the quality of a schoolmaster other than by his formal qualifications. Indeed, this fact had borne heavily on the private schoolmasters themselves.

College of Preceptors and Registration

Not only was there an absence of inspection, but anybody, no matter how fit or unfit for the task, could start a private school. The teachers in the elementary schools enjoyed a definite status, however low, through the certificates issued by the Committee of Council on Education, instituted under the Minutes of 1846. Aware of the anarchic nature of the private school sphere, a group of private schoolmasters met at Brighton in 1846

and founded the College of Preceptors. The aims of the College were to raise the standards of education and to train teachers for the private schools. The College hoped to achieve its ends by providing a system of voluntary inspection, independent of the state, in conjunction with the examination of pupils, in order to guarantee the quality of the education offered to middle class parents. Private school teachers, trained in the science of education, it was thought, would enjoy a higher status than the certificated elementary school teacher. (19) In the statement of its aims the College was a pioneer: in the realisation of these aims it was a failure. The College played an important part in the education of the nineteenth century: it helped to broaden the curriculum and improve the standard of teaching through the institution of examinations for pupils in 1863, in which it preceded Oxford and Cambridge by five years; it published its own journal The Educational Times, but it failed to act as a rallying point for the private school interest. Private schoolmasters failed to use the College to develop a community of interest and to organise private secondary education. It admitted to membership teachers from public elementary and secondary schools and as a consequence took on a more general approach to educational problems.

Along with other educational groups the College of Preceptors championed the cause of Scholastic Registration, an attempt to obtain an Act of Parliament similar to the Medical Registration Act, setting up a Register of Teachers. The movement started about 1860 when two private schoolmasters, Mr. A.P. Southee and Mr. Barrow Rule persuaded the College of Preceptors to set up, in co-operation with other teachers' associations, the Scholastic Registration Association, which later became the Teachers' Association. (20) This Association, founded in 1863, drafted a Bill which was discussed before the Schools Inquiry Commission, basing the details and principles on the Medical Act. (21)

During the next ten years, however, the cause of Registration was taken up by other teachers. Elementary school teachers saw registration as a means of uniting them with teachers of a higher grade and thereby raising their status. The Teachers' Guild, founded in 1884, sought to bring all teachers together in one body.

-
- (19) B.P.P. (British Parliamentary Papers), 1890-91, Vol. 17, Special Report From the Select Committee on Teachers' Registration and Organization Bill; p. 1, Minute of Evidence No. 5, Charles Hodgson, Secretary of the College of Preceptors quoted the objects of the College from their Charter: "For the purpose of promoting sound learning and advancing the interests of education, more especially among the middle classes, by affording facilities to the teacher for acquiring a sound knowledge of his profession, and by providing for the periodical session of a competent board of examiners to ascertain, and give certificates of, the acquirements and fitness for their office of persons engaged or desiring to be engaged in the education of youth."
- (20) The Private Schoolmaster, Nov. 15, 1888, "Scholastic Registration" paper read by A.P. Southee at a meeting of A.P.P.S., Oct. 18, 1888, pp. 16-22.
- (21) For a full discussion of Teachers' Registration see British Journal of Educational Studies, May 1954, "The Teachers' Registration Movement" by G. Baron, pp. 133-144 and F.L. Massey, The Registration of Teachers in England and Wales from 1846 to 1899, with special reference to the development of common interest and professional independence. Unpublished M.A. thesis, London, 1957.

In 1890, therefore, when the College of Preceptors brought forward its Bill yet once again, the challenge was taken up and the Teachers' Guild supported a rival measure backed by Arthur Acland. This looked beyond the College of Preceptors, not only to the Teachers' Guild, but also to the Headmasters' Conference, the Headmistresses' Association and the National Union of Teachers as the bodies to represent the teachers on the controlling council. (22)

A Select Committee was appointed by the government to examine both Bills and reported in favour of registration without recommending either Bill. (23) To a large extent the private teachers' fire had been stolen by the enemy. Private teachers had originally seen registration as a means of preserving their own interest in secondary education and keeping out the state. If elementary teachers were to be admitted to the register, they would swamp the private teachers by their very numbers. In fact, the forces moving towards a co-ordinated system of secondary education were too powerful for the private schoolmasters to resist them by this means. The attitude of the state to private schoolmasters was a much more important factor determining the future of the private schools.

The need to reorganise secondary education was accepted by many in the last quarter of the century. The main problems were to decide the type of education required and the extent to which this education should be provided by the state. Whilst successive governments remained uncertain how to weld the many parts into a coherent system, the private schools provided the major part of secondary education according to the laws of supply and demand.

Laissez-faire and education

The main arguments in favour of private schools came from those who held to laissez-faire principles in social life. The most extreme advocates of the laissez-faire position objected to the attempts of private schoolmasters to protect themselves from charlatans through the Scholastic Registration Association. Registration, it was thought, in an article in the Westminster Review, was a movement towards monopoly and "it must be borne in mind that these monopolies date from a remote period in our history, when the interests of the community were carefully guarded by a paternal government, when every trade formed an exclusive guild, and when the law determined the rate of interest for loans, and the price to be paid by the consumer for commodities." (24) Since examinations exist to test scholarship, and it is impossible to test a man's teaching ability, it was argued, "we therefore strongly deprecate the adoption of this so-called reform as an unwarranted interference with the liberties of a large and important class of individuals." (25)

(22) G. Baron, op. cit., p. 134.

(23) B. P. P. 1890-91, Vol. 17. Special Report From the Select Committee on Teachers' Registration and Organization Bill.

(24) Westminster Review, July 1, 1873, Unsigned article, "Public and Private Schools," pp. 1-32.

(25) *Ibid.*, p. 7.

If the forces of the market are allowed free play, then, it was argued, private schoolmasters would provide what was wanted. Private schoolmasters, having sunk their own capital in the enterprise, would have the self-interest to make the venture a success, and would display more initiative than their counterparts in the endowed schools.

It is contrary to all experience that men, in the enjoyment of an income permanently secured to them, should work with the same unflagging energy as those whose livelihood is entirely dependent on the success of their efforts. (26)

The same writer argued that private schools could flourish alongside endowed schools for two reasons,

First, as we have stated above, it is in the interest of those who take the money to do as little in exchange as possible: secondly, the administration is principally clerical, and it is in the interest of the clergy to keep the people in the dark. Where ecclesiasticism has reached its zenith, popular education is usually at its nadir. (27)

Even such extreme champions of private enterprise in education recognised the validity of some of the criticisms levelled against private schools by their opponents. Private schools, by their very nature, lacked the continuity of endowed schools. On the death of the proprietor, the school might cease to exist, or be completely changed by the next owner. (28) But, perhaps, the most serious criticism of private schools was the fact that they had to supply an education wanted by parents who were ill equipped to judge that education. Robert Lowe admitted that private schools,

Are too sensitive to the opinions and wishes of parents: But it is said with equal justice of endowed schools that from a systematic disregard for the wishes of parents, from teaching what they do not want, and not teaching what they do want, they have lost the confidence of the classes

(26) Ibid., p. 15.

(27) Ibid., p. 13n.

(28) Ibid., p. 13. "It is true that a private school may remain in the same family for more than one generation, though such is rarely the case, while the improbability of its continuing longer is very great. On the death of the proprietor the natural course of events is for the estate to be sold, a certain amount being paid for the good-will, according to the number of pupils who pass, like the adscripti glebae of feudalism, into the hands of a successor. By this process the identity of the school is destroyed; traditions, which might have retained their force while the property remained in one family, are lost, and the school is no longer the same as that which previously existed, but a new school carried on in the same premises.

for whom they were designed, and fallen into a state which would be shameful were it not the natural and inevitable result of the inherent vices of their constitution. If private schools are, as is said, too modern and new-fangled, endowed schools are infinitely too rigid, antique and old-fashioned. If private schools seldom rise to a point of instruction much superior to demands and ideas of the parents, endowed schools have very generally fallen below the wishes and intentions of their founders.(29)

Parents, too, wanted to strike a hard bargain, and were not prepared to pay for a good secondary education.(30) Nonetheless, Lowe thought that laissez-faire was the lesser evil since any negligence or incapacity on the part of the private schoolmaster would be, "sure to be visited by immediate desertion and destruction."

Because of their desire to please the parent, it was argued that private schoolmasters would always be in advance of other types of school. They were the first to drop the teaching of Latin and Greek composition, though only a small minority of the best schools would have taught these subjects; and the first to introduce the study of commercial subjects and the physical sciences. They did these things because their living depended on it. Though private schoolmasters were quick to supply a demand, an increasing number of people felt that the demand was for the wrong thing. The demands of commerce were limited, and though the private schoolmasters might supply those demands efficiently, he could not be said to produce well educated men:

As a consequence, spelling, writing and book-keeping form the modern trivium of mercantile education, and everything beyond these, if tolerated at all, is regarded with suspicion.(31)

-
- (29) Robert Lowe, Middle Class Education: Endowment or Free Trade, 1868, pp. 26-27. "A private school, on the other hand, carries within itself a real living principle, which acts by an automatic impulse, exactly when and in proportion as interference is needed. The balance-sheet of the half year is to the private schoolmaster worth far more than all the central provincial and local authorities can ever be to the endowed school."
- (30) T.D. Acland, The Education of the Farmer Viewed in Connection with that of the Middle Classes in General: Its Objects, Principles and Costs, London, 1857, p. 19. "But the parents must forgive me if I make the remark that this is, to a great extent, their own fault; if they will grind down the teacher of their child to the lowest farthing of remuneration, and expect the master to produce a certain show of learning in twelve months, what can be the result but that the master must engage assistants as cheaply as he can, and that he must teach by rote if he is not allowed time for mental training?"
- (31) Westminster Review, op. cit., p. 10.

The writer in the Westminster Review goes on to argue that though commercial education is limited and cramping, at least, those who desired a commercial education knew what they wanted. Their theory may have been bad, but it had the merit of being definite. Those, on the other hand, who wished to widen the scope of education and make it more liberal spoke as though a full theory of liberal education existed, when, in fact, they had little idea how to attain their goal.⁽³²⁾ In the face of the opposition of parents to liberal education, it was difficult to see how the demand for education could be developed by increasing the supply - an argument that the classical economists would have agreed with.

It is interesting to observe that the laissez-faire views of education which have just been examined claimed freedom for those who provided education at the expense of cramping those who received education. They saw the advantages of individual initiative stimulated by the freedom to act, whilst they admitted that the forces of the market limited what schoolmasters were able to supply. Before looking at the opposite viewpoint it is as well to note that those who opposed laissez-faire in education saw that their desire for a more liberal form of education could only be achieved by state interference and regulation. One side wanted a free educational system, but realised that its results might be cramping; the other side wanted liberal education and realised that it could only be achieved through regulating the educational system.

The doctrine of laissez-faire had been erected into a dogma by the new breed of middle class men created by industrialism. In the early part of the century, English industry was sufficiently in advance of the rest of Europe that the manufacturers could afford to stand by themselves without any need of government support. The Philosophical Radicals believed that progress lay in the sweeping away of all government restraints on industry and commerce. The reforms that they inspired swept away many of the restraints on individual liberty and extended contractual freedom in many spheres of activity.⁽³³⁾ But unbridled individualism was only a phase: it could not benefit everyone in society. The brutality of the economic system offended that other strain of liberalism - humanitarianism. By the middle of the century the philanthropic Tories had already secured through the Factory Acts, in the face of a great amount of Liberal opposition, some degree of protection for those least able to look after themselves. As a party the Liberals had to widen their philosophy in order to bring it into contact with the outlook of other social groups. They had to develop a national interest in the place of a class interest. By 1870 the Liberals had gone a long way towards the acceptance of the principles of "Collectivism."

(32) *Ibid.*, p. 11, "They differ from the philosophers principally in this: they have a theory but a bad one; the philosophers have no theory at all. Both set utility before them as the end of education, but the conception of utility entertained by the former is low, though that of the means by which it is to be reached is definite, while the conception of utility entertained by the latter is exalted, though that of the means by which it is to be reached is vague."

(33) See A.V. Dicey, Lectures on the Relation Between Law and Public Opinion in England During the Nineteenth Century, London, 1905.

The attack against industrialism took many forms, and it would be a gross oversimplification to lump together the various strands as one movement. Mrs. Gaskell, Disraeli and Kingsley attacked industrialism through their novels whilst Carlyle, William Morris and Ruskin criticised on aesthetic grounds. Perhaps the most telling critic in the field of education was Matthew Arnold. Arnold saw the need for the provision of secondary education as a matter of national policy. He appealed for a liberal secondary education to fit the middle classes for the role that the extension of the franchise had given them to play. Arnold thought that the forces of his day were leading to anarchy and that society could only be held together by a common culture.⁽³⁴⁾ Only collective action could secure the educational system necessary for the spread of culture.

In his travels abroad Arnold saw at first hand the working of secondary education on the continent and, as a consequence, he became convinced of the inadequacy of English middle-class education. England required, according to Arnold, schools where the children of the middle and professional classes could obtain at a reasonable cost an education of the same quality and with the same guarantees as in France, Germany, Holland and Switzerland.⁽³⁵⁾ In France, a school could not be opened unless public notice was first given; the consent of the authorities was withheld if the premises were inadequate and if the proprietor had not passed certain public examinations and spent five years in a secondary school. Also the school had to be open to state inspection of the physical amenities and the teaching. In Arnold's view, English private schools could not compare because they lacked the securities of supervision and publicity. He urged inspection by the universities and regarded supply and demand too crude a principle on which to base the educational needs of the nation.⁽³⁶⁾

Arnold realised that the middle class distrusted state interference in secondary education. Some feared the lack of social prestige involved if middle class schools were to become, like elementary schools, subjected to the rigours of a "code". Others saw

-
- (34) Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy*, Cambridge, 1960, ed. J. Dover Wilson, p. 70. "It (culture) seeks to do away with classes; to make the best that has been thought and known in the world current everywhere; to make all men live in an atmosphere of sweetness and light, where they may use ideas, as it uses them itself, freely, - nourished and not bound by them."
- (35) Matthew Arnold, *A French Eton: or Middle Class Education and the State*, London, 1864, p. 37.
- (36) *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43. "By this time we know pretty well that to trust to the principle of supply and demand to do for us all that we want in providing education is to lean upon a broken reed. We trusted to it to give us fit elementary schools till its impotence became conspicuous; we have thrown it aside, and called upon State-aid, with the securities accompanying this, to give us elementary schools more like what they should be In secondary education the impotence of this principle of supply and demand is as signal as in elementary education." In attempting to define what should be aimed at, Arnold says, p. 60, "To the middle class, the grand aim of education should be to give largeness of soul and personal dignity; to the lower class, feeling, gentleness, humanity."

the whole thing as a move on the part of the Church to use the state to attack the non-conformists.⁽³⁷⁾ To the objections of *The Times* that the state could not aid education without cramping and warping its growth, Arnold replied by quoting Burke, "Government is a contrivance of human wisdom to provide for human wants. Men have a right that these wants should be provided for by this wisdom." Arnold certainly thought secondary education to be one of the human wants of his day.

Schools Inquiry Commission and Private Schools

Somewhere between these two extreme positions, the government had to formulate its own opinion and to act. The action taken and the immediate influences affecting those actions will be the subject of the next chapter. Before looking at these actions, however, it is necessary to see the way in which the government formulated its policy.

Private schools existed, said the Schools Inquiry Commission, because of the shortage of endowments, not only in number but also because of the unequal distribution. Even if they had been equally distributed, the Commissioners thought, they would have fallen short of the needs of the day.⁽³⁸⁾ In addition, many endowed schools were in such a condition that they failed to serve their original purpose. Despite some admirable masters the general conclusion of the Commissioners was that the general condition of private schools was unsatisfactory. Most of the third grade schools were unequal to the task that they had undertaken.⁽³⁹⁾

The Commissioners found that though more modern subjects were taught in private schools than in most endowed schools, this teaching was often of a very limited nature and was directed to the restricted needs of commerce. Although private schools attempted individual teaching, they were subject to a great amount of parental interference and had to pander to the claims of individual parents on pain of having the children removed. In the more expensive private schools accommodation was good, but in the majority physical conditions were poor, largely because schoolmastering was a precarious occupation which discouraged the investment of money beyond buying a house.⁽⁴⁰⁾

(37) *Ibid.*, p. 80, et seq.

(38) *Schools Inquiry Commission*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 283.

(39) *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 285. "The endowed schools fail to supply one of the great needs of the country - a good education for the lower section of the middle classes. The failure of the private schools that have taken their place, if not so blamable, is perhaps still more conspicuous."

(40) *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 293-4. "Parents are capricious, trade is uncertain, everything depends on the teacher's health, and, if it be a boarding-school, on his wife's management. Thus few people care to sink any great capital in building and fittings, and when the school declines the house is let for a shop or a private residence, and the master betakes himself elsewhere. Considered commercially, few descriptions of business seem to require less capital and fewer preliminary operations, than the keeping of a private day school of the second order. A house is taken, a cane and a map of England bought, an advertisement inserted, and the master has nothing more to do but teach, engage assistants as he requires them, and endeavour, as best he may, to make his school known among parents in the neighbourhood."

The headmasters of private schools numbered among them many men of ability, many of whom were more up to date in teaching method than their counterparts in the grammar schools. On the other hand, anyone could start a private school and there was no means of ascertaining a person's fitness to do so. As has been seen above many private schoolmasters were aware of this problem and wished to exclude pretenders through a system of registration. The real weakness in private schools was the assistant teacher. Although men of ability would be prepared to take subordinate positions in endowed schools, because they would have a public and recognised position, few were prepared to teach in private schools where they were private employees.⁽⁴¹⁾ In many cases the assistants were little more than lads whose qualifications and competency were woefully weak.⁽⁴²⁾ The Commissioners found that there was very little difference between the pupils attending private schools and those attending grammar schools, but there were two factors affecting the schools and their relation with the public. Unlike the grammar schools, almost all private schools rested to some extent on social distinctions. Many parents sent their children to private schools rather than let them mix with the class beneath them, and the schools were powerless to ignore this demand.⁽⁴³⁾ Some private schools, whilst they would freely admit the children of shopkeepers, would exclude the child of an omnibus driver as coming from an inferior social class. The other respect in which the private schools differed from the grammar schools was that many of the private schools would accept, and succeed in teaching, boys who were backward for reasons of health, slowness or neglect. Such boys tended to get on better in the smaller private school where the atmosphere was more that of the family than the school.

As a result of their investigation the Commissioners concluded that the weaknesses of the private schools fell under three main headings:

1. That there are no means of distinguishing good masters from bad, and that consequently many of the headmasters and the great majority of the assistants are incompetent.
2. That there are no means of distinguishing good schools from bad, and that consequently success is often obtained, not by the goodness of the teaching, but by the skill with which the parents are managed.

(41) *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 296. "In private schools they (assistant masters) exist as part of the owner's money-making machinery, and whatever they do redounds, not to their credit, but to the benefit of his pocket."

(42) *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 297. "That these assistant masters should be very inferior men is hardly to be wondered at. Hard work, very irksome, and in some respects unsuitable, duties, very little sympathy, very low salaries and hardly any prospect of rising, are not likely to secure very competent men."

(43) *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 297-8. "In fact the inferior private schools owe their very existence to the unwillingness of the tradesmen and others just above the manual labourers to send their sons to the National or British School. Rather than let their children mix with the class beneath them in a large well-fitted room where they would be taught by a thoroughly competent master, they will send them to an inferior teacher in a miserable room, and pay twice or four times as much. 'In Norfolk,' says Mr. Hammond, 'social considerations outweigh educational considerations in the eyes of parents of all grades. Thus all local (private) schools are class schools'."

3. That a private school has no recognised position, and that consequently superior men will not accept situations on its staff. (44)

The Commissioners considered means of remedying these deficiencies in private schools, and then the extent to which reformed private schools could be relied upon to provide secondary education where the endowed school had failed.

It was recognised that private schools had a function to perform that could not be discharged by other types of school and it was thought that the competition from private schools had helped to raise the tone of endowed schools. At the same time, private schools offered an outlet to enthusiastic teachers who might be in the vanguard of educational reform but who could not work within the restrictions of the existing educational system. (45) Private schools had the advantage over endowed schools that they were not bound by rules, so that the private schoolmaster could change the whole system within his school in a single day. This greater elasticity made them more able to adapt themselves to the needs of the day and to the wishes of the parents. The Commissioners wished to see these advantages preserved and the defects remedied.

Need for Inspection and Examination

The Commissioners suggested that private schools should be put on the same footing as public schools by offering them admission to the same examinations and inspection. This would be a test to distinguish bad masters and bad schools from good masters and good schools, but would also be a mark of public recognition which would induce good men to work in private schools. It was thought, however, that private schools would always rank lower than public schools in social estimation as this was the price they had to pay for their independence. A school that submitted itself to inspection might be put on a register kept by a public authority, and be treated in many respects as a public school. One consequence of this would be to open the teaching profession more widely as masters from recognised private schools could be considered eligible for masterships of endowed schools. Although compulsory inspection and examination of private schools was common on the continent, the Commissioners thought that it would not be acceptable in England, so, offered a voluntary system of inspection instead. It was thought that these measures would reform the private schools on the three counts on which the Commissioners found them lacking.

(44) Ibid., Vol. I, p. 305.

(45) Ibid., Vol. I, p. 304. "Such men are often mistaken, one-sided, narrow; but their enthusiasm in many cases does more good for their pupils than their mistakes do harm. One man holds that natural science ought to be the one subject of instruction; another will teach nothing but algebra and the Bible. Such theories in ordinary hands are grievous blunders. But the enthusiastic believer often succeeds in spite of his theories, and turns out pupils if not already knowing all that is necessary yet capable of rapidly acquiring it, and possessed meanwhile of a passion for learning which is almost worth all knowledge that could have been learnt. Moreover these are the men who most often make improvements, and discover new methods. The private schools offer a field for their experiments, which the public schools can hardly do."

The Commissioners had still to decide on the question of how to provide secondary school places in areas where there were no endowments, or where they were insufficient. There seemed to be two methods; to make as much use as possible of private and proprietary schools and to encourage the establishment of new public schools.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Before private schools could be considered in any way to fill the place of public schools, the Commissioners thought that they would have to comply with two conditions. They would have to charge fees that would not put them beyond the reach of the class for whom they were intended, and they would have to submit themselves to precisely the same inspection and examination as endowed schools. Compliance with these conditions would enable them to have the names of their successful scholars published in the county lists after the annual examinations and would give them the right to compete for exhibitions available to endowed schools of the same grade.

The Commissioners thought that many private schools were good and would be able to stand side by side with endowed schools under these conditions of registration. However, they felt that these schools would not be sufficient in number to supply the need since the greater proportion of private schools were inefficient and could not be brought up to the required standard.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Private schools owed their origin to the operation of the laws of supply and demand, and, as a consequence, the Commissioners felt, private schools would be lacking on two counts:

It is not difficult to see that this principle (of supply and demand) must necessarily fail in two cases; it fails when the purchasers demand the wrong thing, and it fails also when they are incompetent judges of the right thing.⁽⁴⁸⁾

If the standard of the parent is low, the education provided by the private school is likely to be low, since it has to please the customer, even though the needs of the country might require an education of an entirely different type. The principle of supply and demand, it was felt, would be unlikely to serve the national interest. The commercial principle is concerned with values as they exist, and not with converting the customer to a different set of values. Equally bad, maintained the Commissioners, was the fact that the commercial principle rests on the rule of caveat emptor, which presupposes

(46) Ibid., Vol. I, p. 652.

(47) Ibid., Vol. I, p. 654. "In the first place it appears to be too certain that a great proportion of the private schools are inefficient. All our evidence points to this conclusion with remarkable unanimity. And even those who deprecated any compulsory interference with private schools by the State, yet admitted, that among the number of private schoolmasters there are many unfit for their profession. Such schoolmasters will either decline to register, or if their schools should be registered, and regularly and effectually inspected and examined, they would exhibit their own uselessness and disappear."

(48) Ibid., Vol. I, p. 306.

that the purchaser knows what he is buying. Middle class parents were not good judges of education and were unable to distinguish between the good teacher and the imposter, which in itself, encouraged the unscrupulous to cheat them. (49)

These difficulties, it was thought, became worse the lower down the social scale one went. In addition, most private schools rested to some degree on class distinctions. As a consequence, parents who wished to pay for their children's education were often refused by the schools on the grounds of social class. (50)

Necessity of State-aid

For all these reasons, the Commissioners did not think that inspection and registration alone would be enough to supply the need of the country for secondary education. The only solution was to build public secondary schools. The Commissioners did not go so far as to suggest that a compulsory rate should be raised for secondary education, but they did recommend that each town or parish should be given the power to raise a rate for the establishment of a school or schools above the elementary.

Whilst not going so far as compulsion with respect to the inspection of private schools or the provision of public schools, the Commissioners had made definite recommendations which, if fully carried out, would have seriously affected the relationship between private schools and the state. The extent to which these recommendations were carried out will be the subject of the next chapter.

-
- (49) *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 308. "Now it is quite certain, that it cannot be said, that the majority of parents in the middle classes are really good judges of education. They are good judges of certain things, and they press these particular things, until the whole teaching is dislocated; but of the best means of training the mind, and of strengthening the faculties, they are no judges at all.... In all commercial transactions adulteration is always possible, and if it cannot be detected, it is not only possible but almost irresistible. This is precisely what has happened in regard to education."
- (50) *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 655. "A boy of superior talents is not allowed, even if he be able to pay the school fees, to enter a school attended by children above him in the social scale. The parents threaten to withdraw their children, unless the social distinction is rigidly maintained, and the private schoolmaster is often powerless to resist the threat."

CHAPTER 2

THE DEMAND FOR A NATIONAL SYSTEM

"Earnest educational reformers seeking new worlds to conquer; theorists with unlimited faith in themselves and their nostrums; constitution mongers and 'system builders'; active spirits whose life is in the public appearances of press and platform; gentlemen with the zeal and organizing power of election agents; servile admirers of power, and ignoble worshippers of 'success'; with, perhaps, those who look forward to the creation of new posts of dignity and emolument; all are gathering fast for the Hunt of the Private Schoolmaster."

John Vine-Milne,

Educational Review, November, 1891.

Endowed Schools Act, 1869

The recommendations of the Schools Inquiry Commissioners were clear, but the Government was uncertain how to act. The Government recognised the inadequacy of secondary education as described by the Commissioners, but refused to undertake the thoroughgoing re-organisation recommended. W. E. Forster planned to reform and make use of existing agencies for secondary education through a scheme for revising endowments and a system of inspection and registration. Part I of the Bill⁽¹⁾ introduced by Forster dealt with the reform of endowments and was regarded as a provisional measure; the permanent measures were embodied in Part II of the Bill. In introducing the Bill at its Second Reading, Forster maintained that the endowed schools could not provide all the secondary education required by the country, but that private schools would have to be depended on as well.⁽²⁾ Part II of the Bill was designed to bring about some examination of private and proprietary schools as well as endowed schools.⁽³⁾ It was proposed to bring into existence a Council to consist of representatives of the three Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and London together with six persons nominated by the Crown, and representatives of the teaching profession, as Forster thought that a Council composed in this way would be free from the danger of political bias from the Government of the day.⁽⁴⁾

-
- (1) B.P.P., 1868-9, II.3, "A Bill to amend the Law relating to Endowed Schools and other Educational Endowments in England, and otherwise to provide for the Advancement of Education." Prepared and brought in by Mr. W. E. Forster and Mr. Secretary Bruce. Printed 18 Feb., 1869.
 - (2) Hansard (3rd Series), Vol. CXCIV, March 15, 1868, Cols. 1356-1382.
 - (3) Hansard (3rd Series), Vol. CXCIV, Feb. 18, 1869, Cols. 113-122, Speech by W. E. Forster on First Reading of Bill.
 - (4) The Educational Times, August 1, 1879, Address by Rt. Hon. W. E. Forster at College of Preceptors Distribution of Prizes and Certificates, pp. 215-219.

The functions of the Educational Council would have been to inspect endowed schools and examine the teachers in them and to perform the same function on a voluntary basis for the private schools. The aim of the Bill was to provide a register of good schools and good teachers. As the endowed schools were to receive state aid, supervision was to be compulsory, but in the case of private schools, inspection and examination were to be offered to these schools and teachers as a guarantee of efficiency. Pupils from private schools on the Council's register would be permitted to compete for exhibitions and scholarships. A Select Committee of the House of Commons amended the Bill, making the two parts separate Bills. The first part became the Endowed Schools Act and dealt with the reorganisation of endowments whilst Part II became known as the Endowed Schools Bill (No. 2). Forster yielded to objections against this latter Bill which was considered altogether too revolutionary and the Bill was withdrawn.⁽⁵⁾ Thus, apart from the reform of endowments, the recommendations of the Endowed Schools Commissioners were ignored. No attempt was made to bring private schools into some more regular form through inspection and examination, nor was there to be any provision of secondary education supported by the rates.

The demand for State interference

Though the Government took no further action, the demand for a national system of secondary education grew. It was becoming increasingly plain that something would have to be done to re-organise secondary education in the country. A state system of elementary education had been instituted in 1870, but no Government seemed to want to go as far as this for secondary education. W. E. Forster who had been responsible for the Endowed Schools Act and the Elementary Education Act did not think that the solution for elementary education would be suitable for secondary schools. Speaking in 1879, whilst out of office, Forster said that Matthew Arnold would have advocated adopting the French system, or would have done for secondary education what the 1870 Act did for elementary education.⁽⁶⁾ His views were shared by other politicians, both Liberal and Conservative, and it was clear that the Government had no intention of interfering with secondary education for many years to come unless it were merely to supervise. Nonetheless, it was clear that changes were coming in the secondary sphere. Throughout the 1880's the pressure to improve secondary education increased as economic and social circumstances changed. The educational changes following the Endowed Schools Act of 1869, and the Elementary Education Act of 1870 had brought the Association of Principals of Private Schools into existence in 1879, and for the next twenty years the existing institutions of secondary education were to put forward their claims for recognition in what promised to be the new educational order. Private schoolmasters were anxious lest their own position should be lost.

By the 1880's Britain was feeling the effect of increasing commercial and industrial rivalry from the Continent and from America. British industry was not so much declining, as losing the industrial and commercial lead it had established by being first in the field,

-
- (5) The Educational Times, August 1, 1879, op. cit., p. 216, "I found the country was ready for the reform, but that it was not ready for the Bill for the future management of the schools."
- (6) The Educational Times, August 1, 1879, "College of Preceptors - Distribution of Prizes and Certificates," address by Rt. Hon. W. E. Forster, pp. 215-219.

as other nations developed their own economies. This feeling of commercial insecurity and increased competition led to the belief that if Britain were to maintain her position in the world she would have to look to the education of the future leaders and workers. The demand for improved secondary and technical education grew among the more forward-looking men of the day. The Royal Commission on the Depression of Trade and Industry alleged that those who engaged in British trade and commerce suffered from a lack of mental suppleness and were ignorant of the languages, customs and resources of foreign countries. The Commissioners who signed the majority report thought that the country was particularly deficient in the field of education.⁽⁷⁾ When secondary education was the subject of a debate in the House of Commons in April 1888, The Private Schoolmaster commented that the most serious element in the discussion was that no one contradicted the assertions of A. Acland.⁽⁸⁾ Acland thought that there should be half a million children in secondary schools. The half-million was made up of about 100,000 in endowed schools, 300,000 in private schools, and a further 100,000 who would have been in secondary schools were they available. At least half of the 400,000 at school were under no kind of check or guarantee whatever.⁽⁹⁾ Private schools, he believed, could not fill the existing gap, for as soon as a master was successful, he raised his fees, and the need to provide good education at a moderate price remained unsatisfied. Acland argued that registration and inspection would help "in checking the large number of adventurers who still feed upon our lower middle classes (sic)."⁽¹⁰⁾ The Private Schoolmaster thought that the debate brought nearer two objects of the educational reformers: the creation of the office of Minister of Education to supervise secondary education and Government inspection of endowed schools. Though the reformers wanted to see a national system of education, the Government of the day was not prepared to go so far. Whilst Sir William Hart Dyke was prepared to admit that the state of secondary education was not satisfactory, he refused to consider a system of examining or interfering with private schools which would have provoked the strongest hostility.⁽¹¹⁾

Statements of this kind would have been reassuring for private schoolmasters were it not for the fact that direct state interference through inspection and examination was not their only worry. Private schoolmasters feared that the state might ignore them altogether and institute its own system of secondary schools, with which, because of the lower fees, private schools would be unable to compete.

A large number of private schoolmasters were opposed to all forms of state interference. A large amount of what was written and said by private schoolmasters up to this time was a plea for complete independence, and this attitude was to continue far into the future. There was emerging, however, a new set of views looking towards organisation

(7) B.P.P., 1886 (C. 4893) XXIII. 507. "Final Report of the Royal Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Depression of Trade and Industry." 1886.

(8) The Private Schoolmaster, May 15, 1888, "Government Interference with Secondary Education," pp. 146-147.

(9) Hansard (3rd Series), Vol. CCCXXV, April 27, 1888, Cols. 813-863.

(10) Ibid., Col. 815.

(11) Ibid., Cols. 842-843.

of the private sector or the integration of that sector into a national system of education. There had always been private schoolmasters who looked beyond the confines of their own schools. These, generally, were the men who had founded the College of Preceptors and who supported the work of the College in organising public examinations and championing teachers' registration. Over the next few years a great deal of energy was to be dissipated by the dispute between those holding these two different attitudes.

Emergence of the Concept of Efficiency

The term "efficient" came more and more into use by those attempting to organise secondary education and by those claiming a place in an organised system. The argument as to what constitutes an efficient school and who is competent to judge efficiency, was to continue for many years. If private schools were to be reckoned as part of the educational supply of a district, it was clear that this could only be done if they were efficient. Similarly, if they were to receive scholarship pupils or grants from public funds they would need to show themselves efficient. The problem became, what was to be inspected and by whom? The progressive element in the P.S.A. (12) readily admitted the need for public assurance as to efficiency. Two Presidents of the P.S.A., the Rev. Bevan and W. Brown, thought that registration was needed as a test of qualifications and in addition there should be sanitary inspection of premises and an inspection of educational efficiency. (13) It was generally admitted in the P.S.A. that schools that wished to stay outside the re-organisation of secondary education should be left alone. The real difficulty arose because the majority of private schoolmasters wanted the best of both worlds, or, as one of them expressed it, "Our formula must be - The maximum of recognition with the minimum of interference." (14) The question of inspection led to a great amount of argument within the P.S.A. and to an eventual weakening of policy. The P.S.A. was forced to fight on two fronts: it fought against any attempts on the part of the state to impose a system and at the same time demanded a place within the system. In the long run the state was to impose a system and the private schools were to be left out of it.

Poor Estimation of Private Schoolmasters by Public

Private schoolmasters were aware of the criticisms generally made of them and realised that they did not, as a class, present a favourable impression on the public at large. Private schools had, in general, like the endowed schools, been in poor shape in the middle of the nineteenth century. Private schoolmasters, too, because of the competition for pupils would stoop to any device that would fill their schools with pupils. Reports of the Schools Inquiry Commissioners pointed to private schools that were overcrowded, with poor sanitary conditions, and where the master was a man of no learning. Good private schoolmasters suffered from the adventurer who could start a school with no training and with no interest in the welfare of his pupils except as far as it affected the profits of the school. Bogus degrees and certificates could be bought from institutions specialising in this field. Long and impressive strings of letters of an impossible nature

(12) The A.P.P.S. changed its name to the Private Schools Association (P.S.A.) in January, 1892, and subsequently became incorporated in 1895 (P.S.A.I.)

(13) Educational Review, February, 1894, March, 1894 and December, 1894.

(14) Educational Review, June 1895, pp. 65-70, "The Claim of Private Schools to Educational Grants," by Benjamin Ralph.

would be bought to put after the master's name in exaggerated advertisements, "puff" as they were known, proclaiming virtues of "educational homes" and "academies for young gentlemen." Apparently one private schoolmaster was prepared to barter education for groceries: his advertisement read,

To Butchers and Grocers. Education. A young lady can be received in a first class and old established school on the sea coast, on reciprocal terms. (15)

Demand for State Secondary Education

In the absence of proof of efficiency, the worst was assumed by those who wished to see a national system of education and, in particular, the reform of secondary education:

It has become the fashion for many would-be reformers to regard the private school as a hopeless element, as one that must be extinguished as soon as possible. (16)

The educational reform group, of whom one of the most outspoken and active was Arthur Acland, saw more and more the necessity not only for the reorganisation of existing institutions, but also for state provision of secondary education. The Westminster Review which in 1873 had advocated a completely free market in secondary education, had, by 1890, come to the view that the state had to provide schools. The middle classes themselves, it was argued, were demanding organised secondary education because their own children lacked, not business training, but an all round education, and from the Continent where state organised education existed. "the German young man of business is cuckooing the English one out of his nest." (17) Massie urged the state to act because,

It is no longer alleged that time alone is required for cosmos to evolve itself out of chaos: such a paradox has been surrendered for primary education; and for secondary education also it must go to the wall.

Technical Instruction and Welsh Intermediate Education Acts

The first steps towards state aid in secondary education almost passed unnoticed among private schoolmasters. In successive issues of The Private Schoolmaster the Technical Instruction Act and the Welsh Intermediate Education Act received only passing references. Although sounding a note of caution, The Private Schoolmaster welcomed the Welsh Intermediate Education Act. (18) Under the Act, money was paid by the Treasury to schools receiving assistance from a county rate, the amount paid determined by an annual government inspection.

-
- (15) Education, April, 1891, pp. 131-132, quoted by Arthur A.D. Acland in an address to the Froebel Society.
- (16) Education, October, 1891, pp. 285-286, "The Month."
- (17) Westminster Review, February, 1890, pp. 144-162, "Middle Class Education," by John Massie.
- (18) The Private Schoolmaster, Oct. 15, 1889, pp. 215-216.

Two abortive Bills, the first the work of Arthur Acland, were introduced in 1892 and 1893. The aim of Acland's Bill was to supply secondary schools where they did not exist and where they were required, and to aid existing efficient schools. In order to do this, the Bill proposed authorising the Education Committees of County Councils to raise a rate not exceeding one halfpenny in the pound, as had been done in the Welsh Intermediate Education Act. The provisions of the Bill, however, were to be permissive only. The County Council would also be able to appropriate any portion of the fund already available for technical education under the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, and it would be permitted to borrow money for secondary education. As well as establishing secondary schools, the Bill would have permitted local authorities, at their discretion, to aid existing schools, or to establish scholarships at these schools. Private schools were explicitly prohibited from receiving aid under the clause stating that "no grant shall be made in aid of any secondary school, or training institution, which is conducted for private profit." The Bill did not get beyond First Reading because Parliament was dissolved, but it was clear to both sides that legislation on secondary education could not be long deferred.

Private schoolteachers saw the necessity for registration as a means of guaranteeing their position and began to argue that registration should precede legislation. They also began to ask for a Royal Commission before legislation, not only hoping to save time, but also to harness the growing support for private schools that Acland's Bill provoked. Existing secondary school teachers realised that if they were to preserve their position, then they needed to retain as much power as they could in their own hands and prevent the authority for providing secondary education from falling in the hands of those responsible for elementary education. A meeting of the executives of the Head Masters and Head Mistresses Association, although they approved of the general principles of the Bill, agreed that a Bill for registration should precede it. The demand for a Council of Education to control secondary education on which the universities would be represented gained wider support. It was thought that the universities would protect secondary schools from the dangers of the state system in three ways.⁽¹⁹⁾ Universities would prevent a stereotyped system and would thus preserve the independence of the teacher; they would also represent a national system and would prevent secondary education from being controlled locally, possibly by people of little education and narrow views. Control by the universities would also aid the private schools as they would not have to compete at a disadvantage with schools receiving grants from the state.

The movement for a reorganisation of secondary education gathered momentum. A conference was held at Oxford in 1893 to discuss the whole question and a Memorial was sent to Gladstone. A large part of the presidential address to the P. S. A. in January, 1894, by Rev. J.O. Bevan, was to have been devoted to a plea for the appointment of a Royal Commission, but the government announced its intention of forming such a Commission beforehand. Bevan thought that there would always be a demand for private education because parents would not like the mixing of the social classes neither would they like the rigidity of the state system.

(19) *Educational Review*, November, 1893, pp. 1-2, "The Relations between Secondary Schools and the Universities," by Professor Jebb.

It is owing mainly to tradition, caste feeling, class distinctions, and conservative tendencies that all our day scholars have not deserted us and gone to the State Schools. (20)

In the United States, he said, the number of private schools was increasing with the increase of wealth and leisure, and, though the tide would turn in Britain, many private schools would be destroyed in the meantime, and for them it would be too late.

The Re-shaping of P.S.A. Policy

Bevan saw clearly the weakness of private schools in relation to a state system. Private schools, he thought, could not hope to be bought up by Education Committees because most private schools were small and were carried on in houses that were not built as schools, but only adapted to the purpose. Also it would be very difficult to bring private schools a share of the benefits of any Act. Private schools were private property and could give no guarantee of continuity, consequently, public money spent on the capital equipment of a private school might be disposed of by the proprietor.

The school premises belong to an individual. He can mortgage, or lease, or sell, at any moment. He may close the establishment at his pleasure, or convert the buildings to some other use. There is no security, no continuity, no legal corporation; only one man, and all men are flesh, and all flesh is grass, as we know. (21)

He thought that the clause in the Education Bill prohibiting grants to private schools was defensible on these grounds. Private schools could, however, claim to receive scholarship pupils because this would only constitute payment for work done.

Miss G. Allen Olney and W. Brown gave evidence before the Royal Commission on 17th July, 1894, when they put forward the policy of the P.S.A. (22) Brown argued that private schools had a special claim to recognition as they had provided secondary education when the state had ignored the need for it. Private schools had been pioneers of educational reform and because of their independence they had been the readiest to adapt themselves to modern requirements. The large number of private schools together with the freedom they possessed ensured parents of a large degree of choice and a large variety of kinds of education. He maintained that private schoolmasters were able to maintain closer relationships with parents than were public schoolmasters and he contested the suggestion that private schoolmasters, because of this close relationship, were in a weak position with regard to parents and changed their curricula too readily. Brown urged the need for registration as a first step in the organisation of secondary education,

(20) Educational Review, February, 1894, pp. 197-203 and concluded in March issue, pp. 260-268, "John Bull, Junr., and his Various Instructors; or the Present and Future of Secondary Teaching and Teachers," by Rev. J.O. Bevan.

(21) *Ibid.*, p. 265.

(22) Royal Commission on Secondary Education, (Bryce Commission), H.M.S.O., C. 7862, 1895., Vol. 3, pp. 279-313.

but resisted the suggestion that elementary teachers should be included on the register, on the ground that elementary teachers already had their certificate and their numbers would swamp the secondary schools in the election of their representatives. All existing teachers, he argued, should be placed on the register if they would submit their schools to inspection, but later only the properly qualified would be admitted.

The P.S. A., along with other educational associations, objected to the Education Department on account of its rigid uniformity and its Code. The P.S. A. objected, too, to the Charity Commissioners "because they have irresponsible powers" and to the South Kensington Science and Art Department because they did not make grants to private schools. (23) Brown saw the functions of an educational council to be,

First, to take charge of registration as the commencement of Secondary Education; second, to control and guide the local authority; thirdly, to revise and ratify their schemes; and, fourthly, to be a court of appeal for teachers in educational matters affecting them. Then they ought to supply, when called upon, educational experts to decide efficiency, and generally to encourage Secondary Education by diffusing information about it. (24)

There should be a Minister of Education, he thought, if he were to be president of the council and take its advice and act upon it, but not if the Minister merely used the council as a consultative body. He thought that a Minister could be bound by the decision of a council and yet be responsible to Parliament because there would be no large amount of money to allocate in any way. Brown claimed that there was no real deficiency of secondary education, except in scattered rural districts, and that the imposition of rates would be quite unnecessary for re-organisation.

It is interesting to note in Brown's argument the common tendency of the time to regard secondary education as the education of the middle class, as, when he was asked how he would determine whether or not there was a deficiency in an area, he said that he would institute a door to door enquiry and determine the number of parents able to pay an annual fee of ten pounds, as this would give the number of places required. (25) Defined in this way, he thought that there was an adequate amount of secondary education and that there were already sufficient scholarships for those unable to pay. (26) The witnesses

(23) Ibid., p. 288, Minute of Evidence 9340. The term "irresponsible" meant "not responsible to Parliament."

(24) Ibid., p. 289, Minute of Evidence 9346.

(25) Ibid., pp. 307-308.

(26) Mr. Llewellyn Smith asked Mr. Brown if he thought that there would be any need for secondary education in, "a poor district inhabited entirely almost by artisans who could not pay the full fees. I will take it apart from the question of endowment, which you admit is a pure accident; of course there may or may not be endowment?" Brown's reply was, "There may or may not be endowment, and there is no call for Secondary Education there except by scholarships for clever children." Vol. 3, p. 308, Minute of Evidence 9578.

representing the private school viewpoint, doubtless held their views not only because they were representing a vested interest, but also because they felt that secondary education, by definition, was for those who could afford to pay for it. Miss Olney thought that if higher education were given to children from the board schools there would be the danger of their not finding suitable employment which would be tantamount to preparing them for future disappointment:

Every occupation not manual is painfully overstocked and so great is the competition, even now, among young men of the middle and upper classes, that many can find no opening in occupations for which their education, training and inherited culture and habits fit them.

Children from board schools would have to,

return to the handicrafts of their parents for which they were untrained, and for which they had no taste, or else they would feel them beneath them. (27)

Brown readily admitted the need to determine efficiency by inspection. No-one, he thought, should be allowed to run a secondary school who was not a registered teacher. If a school wished to be reckoned by the central authority as part of the educational supply of the district, it would have to submit to inspection. Brown was very clear in his objection to inspection by local authorities and thought that it should be carried out by the universities, the College of Preceptors or the central authority at the choice of the school. The inspection would cover sanitation, premises, qualifications of principal and staff, organisation and methods and the efficiency of the teaching. In the case of private schools receiving grants in aid, Brown thought that it would be reasonable to expect these schools to submit their financial accounts for inspection. He objected strongly, however, to any attempt to impose an examination on private schools which would take the form of an examination of the pupils along the lines of the inspection of elementary schools under the Revised Code. The inspection that Brown would have admitted for private schools would have been merely a visit to the school to see what was going on.

Report of the Royal Commission

The Commissioners in their report recognised the work done by private schools. They estimated that there were possibly between 10,000 and 15,000 private schools professing to give secondary education, though they pointed out that many of these schools were shortlived. There had, they thought, been a considerable decrease in the number of private schools since 1868, but the livelihood of many thousands of people still depended on them and they provided a large proportion of the secondary education in the country especially that of girls.

(27) Ibid., Vol. 3, p. 312, Minute of Evidence 9637.

The most striking feature about the private schools was their heterogeneity.

There are private schools of every grade, and giving education of almost every kind and at almost every variety of fee. There are private schools, too, of every degree of merit, from those which, conducted in excellent buildings by an excellent staff, are in the van of educational progress, to those which, carried on in ill-ventilated rooms by ignorant persons with no qualifications as teachers, represent the lowest depth of educational stagnation from which we have during the past 30 years been emerging. (28)

The Commissioners thought it understandable that private schoolmasters were so bitterly opposed to competition aided by public funds especially as they would be contributing through rates and taxes to the financial support of the rival. They felt, however, that the claim of W. Brown that public authorities should be precluded from giving financial support to public secondary schools, was an extreme one.

The Commission recommended the setting up of a central authority which would be a department of state presided over by a minister responsible to Parliament. There should also be an educational council to advise the minister, hear appeals and administer the registration of teachers. It was recommended that local authorities for secondary education should be created in every county and county borough with the power to administer money raised by local rates or paid over from the Exchequer. The central authority was to be given the power to ensure that local authorities made proper provision of secondary education. A register of teachers supervised by the educational council was proposed which should be open to all teachers, secondary and elementary, and which should demand certain minimum qualifications from the start.

Although making provision for a national system of secondary education in this way, the Commission was very mindful of the position of private schools. It was stated clearly that the Commission did not wish to displace or weaken them. If a private school submitted to inspection and was found to be efficient, then it should be recognised by the local authority as contributing to the supply of secondary education for the area. A list of efficient schools for each area should be drawn up and these schools should be taken as the recognised supply. Any school not wishing to be reckoned part of the local supply should be allowed to continue completely independent of any public body except for sanitary inspection. The Commission made it clear that they had no intention of imposing a rigid state system,

We are far from desiring to see Secondary Education pass wholly under public control, and into the hands of those who are practically public servants, as elementary education has done, and we believe that where proprietary or private schools are found to be doing good work it would be foolish as well as unfair to attempt to drive them out of the field.

Private schools thinking that a local authority had failed to enquire properly into the extent to which it was supplying efficient education or had been excluded unfairly from the

(28) *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 148.

list of efficient schools would have the right to appeal to the Central Office.

The Commission thought that if a private school wished to remain on the list of recognised schools it would have to be prepared to submit to inspection and to permit its pupils to be examined by the Central Office.⁽²⁹⁾ Some of the assistant commissioners urged in their reports the compulsory inspection of private schools as the only means of getting rid of the worst schools where conditions were often scandalous or where the school was run by unsuitable teachers.⁽³⁰⁾ F.E. Kitchener in his report on Lancashire wrote,

The last class, in which the master or mistress have been thrust by circumstances to a vocation for which they are eminently unsuited is doubtless dying out, but it is not yet extinct. To see the inside of such schools thoroughly, compulsory powers both of inspection and examination are necessary. Almost anyone who sets up a school at a seaside place like Southport can get some pupils; there will always be well-meaning friends who will canvass for pupils to go to the new schools; in one case I was told that the principal had not previously been a schoolmaster but he had had an accident and lost his memory; so his friends set him up as a schoolmaster.⁽³¹⁾

(29) Ibid., Vol. I, p. 293, "The conditions which the school ought to undertake to comply with, so long as it retained its recognition would be the following:-

(1) It should be open to such inspection as the Central Office may, by regulations to be made by it for that purpose prescribe.....

(2) It should be prepared to submit its pupils, or such part of them as might be required, to be examined under regulations made by the Central Office, assisted by the Educational Council.....

(3) It should present to the Local Authority an annual statement of the salaries paid to its teachers, or, in the case of a private school, to its assistant teachers.

(??4) (sic.) Its headmaster, and such number of its assistant masters as the Local Authority might require, should be entered on the register of teachers herein-after mentioned."

(30) Ibid., Vol. 6, p. 94, Report of Mrs. Armitage on Devonshire, "Only next in importance to their inferiority in point of teachers was their inferiority in point of buildings. This is a subject which forces itself on the attention of a visitor accustomed to see elementary schools. It seems ludicrous that while the law insists on trained teachers and ample breathing space for the children of the working class, it should be legal for any ignorant person to open a school for the children of the middle classes, and to asphyxiate them in small ill-ventilated rooms..... I very frequently found basement rooms used as schoolrooms; they are seldom unobjectionable. Too often, in private schools, the mistress takes the best room in the house for her own drawing-room and crams the girls into the dining-room and a little back parlour, or even into attics. To this rule I noticed some honourable exceptions."

(31) Ibid., Vol. 6, pp. 226-227.

Nonetheless, the Commission felt that the time was not yet ripe for compulsory inspection and thought that incompetent teachers would gradually disappear through a system of voluntary inspection. At the same time, the existence of efficient private schools alongside public schools would tend to prevent, through the rivalry they would create, stagnation or uniformity on the part of the public sector.

Private School Fears of Reform

Private schoolmasters welcomed the recognition of private schools in the Royal Commission Report, but were apprehensive about the effect that the recommendations for reorganisation would have. With the prospect of state interference in secondary education, private school teachers, like secondary school teachers, began to see elementary school teachers more and more as their rivals especially as the latter grew in organised strength. Not only did they fear the control of the elementary "Code" but they were afraid that the elementary school teachers, by their very numbers, would swamp them if they were admitted to the same register as secondary teachers as the Commission proposed. They also objected to the higher grade elementary schools. These were schools run by School Boards to cater for the increasing number of elementary school-children staying on until the age of thirteen or over. The higher grade schools gave what was virtually a secondary education and many qualified for grants from the Science and Art Department as science schools. There was a considerable overlapping of function in some areas between the higher grade and grammar schools. Private school teachers resented these schools not only because they took pupils away from them, but also because they thought that this intrusion from below was a dangerous precedent if it brought the elementary ethos into the secondary sphere.

A Bill was introduced in the House of Commons on 31st March, 1896, and a separate Bill for the Registration of Teachers was also prepared. Under the Bill an L.E.A. could aid any school supplying secondary education, or, with the consent of the Education Department it could take it over. It could also establish secondary schools of its own establish and maintain scholarships and supply or aid in supplying teachers. The authority was given, too, considerable powers of inspection which were to extend to sanitation and the education given and the results of these enquiries could be made known to the public. The Bill was withdrawn on 22nd June, 1896, because of the considerable opposition it provoked. After five sittings of the House of Commons in Committee only fourteen words of the Bill had been passed. The battle was not waged on the private school question, in fact, during the two day debate on Second Reading only one mention was made of private schools, but the dispute raged around the question of the control of education on which so many conflicting interests were centred. The Registration Bill was abandoned and never reached Second Reading.

Reaction and Split in the P.S.A.I.

Failure to pass the Bills in no way diminished the discussion of educational legislation. The withdrawal of the Bills provided a breathing space for the P.S.A.I. and enabled it to take stock of the situation. It was clear that the educational question would be raised again and the feeling inside the P.S.A.I. was increasingly apprehensive and suspicious of all outside bodies. In September the Association opened its own office at 5 Bloomsbury Square and the following month started its own journal, Secondary Education. Despite these attempts to institute some administrative machinery, the effect of the 1896 Bill was to force the Association in on itself and to increase the sense of isolation private school teachers felt. This period of reaction within the organisation brought about a split between those who wished to preserve the existing position for as

long as possible and those who were more outward looking and who wished to come to terms with the forces around them over which, they knew, they exercised little control.

Resignations from P.S.A.I. : Views of Progressive Element

This policy of isolation led to the resignation of two former Presidents, Bevan and Millar Inglis, and nine members of the Council in the course of the year. The P.S.A.I. only recorded formally these resignations, but the Educational Review published statements by Bevan and Inglis. Bevan thought that there was something in the nature of the life and work of private teachers which led them to take a partial and individual view of affairs. Their job led them to distrust other teachers and to treat them as rivals and the agitation for reform led them into a retrograde policy of distrust and isolation. "They distrust alike the public, the government, the late Royal Commission, and the present Joint Committee." (32) The difficult position for private school teachers was that they wanted to remain outside a state system and yet be considered part of the educational supply. But Bevan saw clearly that they could not refuse inspection and expect their schools to be reckoned as part of the available supply; parodying de Musset, he wrote,

They will be placed in a dilemma, and must choose one position or the other. A door must either be open or shut.

Supporting Bevan, Millar Inglis argued that the policy of the P.S.A.I. had become retrograde,

the simple one of defence of private teachers and their property, with a policy of destructive criticism of all legislative proposals that affected them. (33)

Bevan summed up the situation by writing,

The Private Schools' Association is all for staving off legislation. In part, this has its root in timidity or conscious weakness; in part, in an incomplete view, based on inadequate perception of the trend affairs are taking. (34)

Although not wanting legislation that would affect themselves, the P.S.A.I. wanted legislation for almost everyone else. They advocated delimitation, i.e. the elimination of secondary work from elementary schools, the isolation of technical training, the

(32) Educational Review, March, 1897, pp. 178-181, "Efficiency, Public Spirit and Reform in Private Schools. Wanted - a Guild of Efficient Private Schools." An Open Letter by the Rev. J.O. Bevan.

(33) Educational Review, May, 1897, pp. 11-13, "Grave Charges Against the Private Schools' Association. Statements by Two Past Presidents."

(34) Educational Review, April, 1897, pp. 220-225, "Wanted - A Guild of Efficient Private Schools. A Second Letter from the Rev. J.O. Bevan."

establishment of technical institutes, the re-organisation and improvement of grammar and endowed schools and the registration and training of teachers. The existence of inefficient private schools meant that they could not be passed over and still reckoned part of the educational supply. Bevan wrote,

It has been said that they furnish the Dark Continent of educational effort; and, although there are many good schools and good teachers, yet it is obvious to everyone familiar with the subject that in any public movement based on fair and open inquiry large numbers of private schools must go. (35)

He saw the danger of the P.S.A.I. being that it would come to be seen merely as protecting the interests of a class and attracting a large number of the inefficient who would be doubtful of their personal qualifications or the character of their schools. Members such as this would be a source of embarrassment rather than strength and would increase the isolation of the Association.

The policy of reaction had the effect of weakening the Association through dissipating its energies in demanding the impossible. There were always those within the Association ready to denounce all reformers and would-be reformers. Some argued that there were already too many scholarships and that it was folly to speak of education as "a ladder from the gutter to the university." The professions were already overcrowded, and, it was argued, it was pointless to train children from the working class, whose background would always be against them, to a life for which they were unsuited. It was folly, one writer claimed, to spend money,

in granting hundreds of scholarships to children of 'mediocre' ability, leading them to embark on a career of genteel poverty rather than become skilled artisans with prospects before them. (36)

What was required was more manual training rather than higher education. Private school teachers saw themselves as part of the existing class system and feared that their position would be endangered if that system were to change. As another writer expressed it:

For what kinds of schools are these private schools, towards which the State appears to be so bitterly hostile? Firstly, they are schools that acknowledge difference of caste - and caste is here a factor to be reckoned with, let Progressives deny it as they will. Secondly, they are schools that acknowledge difference of capacity. Thirdly, they are schools that allow and provide for difference of occupation, in after life.

(35) Educational Review, March, 1897, p. 180.

(36) Secondary Education, September 1, 1897, pp. 105-106, Unsigned article, "The Situation."

And, lastly, it is their special feature that they recognise the parent and not the State, as the natural guardian of the child, consult the parent's views for its future, and further them with conspicuous success. To do so the more effectually, private schools are specialized. (37)

Whilst the members held these views the P. S. A. I. became increasingly isolated from other associations and the extent to which they stood aside from the current of their time may be judged by the teacher who wrote,

The steadfast aim of national education should be to enable men and women to do better work, and to live better and happier lives, and not to lift them from one rank or position in society into another. (38)

Government Indecision and Piecemeal Legislation

Private teachers drew some comfort from the fact that the discussions between existing educational groups and the uncertainty of the government deferred the possibility of legislation. The Duke of Devonshire stated through his private secretary that the government hoped to introduce a measure for secondary education in the coming session, but this was discounted by Sir John Gorst in a speech in November 1897, in which he said that he saw little chance of anything but piecemeal legislation. The following month, at Bristol, he said that he held out little hope of immediate legislation because,

The governing party would not, because the members of the Government were selected from a class that was not entirely convinced of the necessity or desirability of higher education for the people An imperfectly instructed democracy maintains in power a Government selected from a class opposed to the needful educational reform. (39)

The Duke of Devonshire introduced two Bills in the House of Lords on 1st August, 1898, one to establish a Board of Education and the other for the Registration of Teachers. It was intended that the two Bills should act as a focal point for a discussion of the issues affecting secondary education and that a revised Bill would be proceeded with in the next session. The Bills, however, did not excite much interest in Parliament. When the Duke of Devonshire introduced the Bills in the House of Lords there were only six peers present including the Lord Chancellor and two bishops, and one newspaper described the Board of Education Bill as "a Bill for the abolition of Sir John Gorst." (40)

(37) Secondary Education, June 1, 1897, pp. 68-69, "What is an Efficient Private School?" by "K".

(38) Secondary Education, Sept., 16, 1901, pp. 129-130, unsigned article, "Scholarships."

(39) Secondary Education, January 1, 1898, pp. 1-2 and p. 8.

(40) Quoted in Secondary Education, Sept., 1, 1898, p. 138.

The following year, the Duke of Devonshire introduced into the House of Lords on 14th March, 1899, a Bill which contained the main proposals of his two previous Bills and which became law before the end of the year.⁽⁴¹⁾ The Bill combined the existing government agencies for secondary education into a single government department, and it made provision for the voluntary inspection of schools and the establishment of a register of teachers. Section 3 of the Act provided for the inspection of schools on a voluntary basis by the Board of Education, a University "or other organisation." The importance of this section was that it left private schools completely free to choose inspection or not. It also allowed for the fears of private school teachers that inspection by a government body might lead to a rigid uniformity and the imposition of a code, by permitting inspection by a University or other body, by which was meant the College of Preceptors. Section 4 of the Act provided for the setting up of a Consultative Committee by Order in Council which would draw up regulations for a register of teachers as well as advising the Board on matters referred to it.

Controversy on Aid to Private Schools

The Act went some way to granting the demands of the P.S.A.I. It provided for a register of teachers and it made inspection purely voluntary. The Association hoped that in future changes private schools would be recognised as part of the existing supply and that the penalising clauses in previous Bills and Acts preventing public aid being given to private schools would be dropped.⁽⁴²⁾

An order in Council establishing a Consultative Committee of the Board of Education and a Bill to enable local authorities to aid secondary education were circulated at the end of June, 1900. The Bill virtually offered to private schools all that they could have asked for. Section 3. (3) stated,

notwithstanding the proviso to paragraph (f) of Section 1 of the Technical Instruction Act, 1889, aid may be given to a school conducted for private profit to such an extent and under such conditions as the Board of Education may, having regard to the special circumstances of the case, think expedient.

The Bill also contained two safeguards for private schools, in that it required Councils to "have regard to the existing supply of efficient schools," and provided for an appeal against the action of any Council prejudicial to any schools.

(41) Ch 33, 62 and 63 Vict., "An Act to provide for the Establishment of a Board of Education for England and Wales, and for matters connected therewith," (9th August, 1899).

(42) Section 1 (f) of the Technical Instruction Act, 1889, prevented local authorities from aiding, out of the rates, "any school conducted for private profit." Similarly, Section 1 (2) of the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890, provided that money should be distributed "within the meaning of the Technical Instruction Act, 1889."

The provisions of the Bill affecting private schools aroused considerable opposition on the part of the local authorities. The annual meeting of the Association of Directors and Organising Secretaries for Technical and Secondary Education objected strongly to the idea of aiding private schools and passed a resolution that aid should only be given to schools with an independent governing body upon which the local authority should be adequately represented. It also felt that before scholarships should be tenable at private schools, the fees of the school should be approved by the Board of Education.⁽⁴³⁾ Although the Bill was read for a second time in the Lords on 23rd July it was not completed owing to the general election in the October. The Conservative Party was returned to power again and preparations were made to tackle the education problem. The government asked the County Councils Association to formulate its views on the 1900 Bill in order to facilitate the passing of a similar, but amended, Bill in 1901.

The County Councils got their way, and in the new government Bill introduced into the House of Commons by Sir John Gorst on 7th May, the hopes of the private schools were dashed. The Bill contained none of the "guarantees" of the Bill of 1900, that would have sanctioned aid to private schools and have permitted their governing bodies to appeal to the Board of Education as well as requiring local authorities when establishing schools to have regard to the existing supply of efficient schools. The only reference to private schools in the new Bill was an emphatic prohibition along the lines of the Technical Instruction Act, 1889, which stated that the education authority

shall not make a grant to, or establish or maintain (a) a public elementary day school, (b) a Poor Law school, or (c) a school or college conducted for private profit.

The change in policy towards private schools may be accounted for by the different situation with which the government had to deal. The Cockerton judgment was confirmed by the Court of Queen's Bench on December 20th, 1900 and by the Court of Appeal on 1st May, 1901: this was a decision by an auditor named Cockerton of the Local Government Board before whom a case had been brought, on June 8th, 1899, alleging that it was illegal for the London School Board, under the Act of 1890, to maintain out of the rates schools at which education higher than elementary was given. This decision meant that the higher grade schools supported by School Boards were illegal and that the government had to find a solution that would deal with both elementary and secondary education.⁽⁴⁴⁾

(43) *Journal of Education*, Nov., 1900, p. 669 and *The Record*, April, 1901, Vol. X, No. 42, pp. 229-235.

(44) Halévy, E., *History of the English People* (Epilogue: 1895-1905, Book 2), Pelican Books, 1939, p. 110, "The school board could only plead the long continued connivance of the public authorities. But, if that connivance made it difficult to close off-hand all the educational institutions illegally maintained (sic) by the London School Board and by many school boards in the provinces, it was not a legal argument in their favour, and further legislation was imperative to regularise or alter a situation de facto illegal."

The Bill of 1901 encountered considerable opposition in the country, probably more than the government anticipated. The government withdrew it as too large to deal with in the session, and, on 2nd July, 1901, Sir John Gorst introduced an enabling Bill to deal with the awkward position of the School Boards by allowing them to carry on for another year which passed through Parliament without debate. The P.S.A.I. was aware that the battle, far from being won, was yet to be fought, and that though it was to their advantage that the Bill of 1901 had been withdrawn and that the Cockerton decision had forced delimitation on the elementary schools, these very facts made it certain that the government would have to act with a greater sense of urgency than it had done so far.

THE 1902 ACT : THE SECONDARY PROBLEM TACKLED

It became clear in the discussion preceding the publication of the 1902 Bill, that although the government was determined to deal with the education question, it had no intention of imposing a uniform system of secondary education which would crush all private effort. Sir John Gorst, Vice-President of the Board of Education, claimed that the government would take account of the demands of all the types and grades of secondary education and urged that it should not be forgotten that a national system of education had its drawbacks as well as its advantages.

The most fatal danger is the tendency of public instruction to suppress or absorb all other agencies, however long established, however excellent their work, and to substitute one uniform mechanical system, destructive alike to present life and future progress. In our country, where there are public schools of the highest repute, carried on for the most part under ancient endowments, private schools of individuals and associations, and Universities entirely independent of the Government, there is reasonable hope that, with proper care, this peril may be escaped. But its existence should never be forgotten. ⁽¹⁾

Gorst admitted that efficiency in all educational establishments had to be secured, but the independence of all types of school should be guarded, as once it was lost it could never be restored. It was probably felt, by members of a government educated themselves at public schools, that if the principle of interference with private education were admitted it might constitute a threat to the public school system.

Private School Anxiety over Inspection

The P.S.A.I. was more confident that it had been for some time about the prospects of legislation, as it felt that the clause about "schools conducted for private profit" would not appear again. On the other hand, private schoolteachers were anxious to know the way in which the forthcoming legislation would affect them. There were many signs that the anxiety of private teachers sprang from a sense of their own shortcomings. This anxiety was probably most clearly seen in their attitude to inspection and their concern about a definition of the term "efficient". Private schoolteachers had long been accustomed to taunts of "Mr. Squeers" and "Dotheboys Hall," and the Reports of the Schools Inquiry Commission and the Bryce Commission had revealed the existence of private schools of the worst possible type, run by ignorant adventurers in squalid buildings. The P.S.A.I. realised that if it were to claim recognition for all private schools, it would lay itself open to the charge that it was seeking protection for the notorious schools as well

(1) Secondary Education, Oct. 15, 1901, pp. 148-149. "Primary, Secondary and Technical Education," an address to the Educational Science Section of the British Association by Sir John Gorst.

as the good ones. To cover this, the Association claimed recognition for all "efficient schools" and maintained that it could no longer support inefficient ones. But the difficulty with this claim was that the term "efficient" needed to be defined and the additional problem arose of who was to define it. It became clear that the only way by which the efficiency of a school could be decided was through inspection.

Some private schoolteachers tried to avoid the issue of direct inspection by arguing that registration of teachers would be sufficient coupled with the sanitary inspection of the premises. They claimed that if schools of the "Dotheboys" type had existed, they had certainly died out long ago. They tended to use the a priori argument that since private schools were in competition with each other, the inefficient would be driven out of existence by the forces of the market. These teachers tended to claim that examinations were an adequate measure of efficiency. Since parents sent their children to school to pass examinations, if the results of a school were bad its numbers would fall.

Many private schools were small and they feared that they would be turned down because they were lacking in equipment or staff. Secondary Education claimed that:

The teachers of the larger schools, containing, say, a hundred or more pupils, may have little difficulty in getting a certificate which will entitle their schools to be recognised; but what will be the fate of schools containing a strictly limited number of pupils where the greater part of the work is done by the head master or the head mistress? (2)

There was no doubt, too, that many private schoolteachers were poorly qualified. Certain private schoolteachers rationalised their lack of qualifications and equipment by claiming that because of the smallness of their schools they were able to concentrate on the building of character and the moral development of the children.

The 1902 Education Act

The Education Bill, when published at the end of March, 1902, temporarily allayed the fears of the P.S.A.I. It brought administrative order to the complex field of elementary education and made provision for an organised system of secondary and technical education. The Bill ensured that the whole of the country would be provided for by making the County Councils and County Boroughs responsible for secondary, technical and elementary education. Responsibility for elementary education only, could, however, be taken over by municipal boroughs with 10,000 inhabitants and urban districts with 20,000 inhabitants.⁽³⁾ Part II of the Bill provided for higher education and Part III for elementary education with the result that the smaller authorities, responsible for elementary education alone, became known as "Part III Authorities." This orderly system meant that instead of over 2,500 School Boards and nearly 800 School Attendance Committees

(2) Secondary Education, March 15, 1902, p. 39.

(3) There were several exceptions to this rule. Some Councils never claimed the right to administer elementary education and others, though at first accepting responsibility, later surrendered their powers to the County Council. For a useful summary of the powers of Authorities see, Herbert Ward, "The Educational System of England and Wales and Its Recent History," Cambridge, 1935, especially pp. 23-143.

for elementary education there would now be about 300 new local authorities.⁽⁴⁾ The real opposition to the Bill was directed against these proposals and not against the provision of a twopenny rate for secondary education. The administrative reforms meant the sweeping away of the School Boards and the granting of assistance from the rates to voluntary schools.

The P.S.A.I. saw that the moderate provision of secondary education transferred the battle from Parliament to the Local Authorities. The Bill made no direct reference to private schools neither did it expressly forbid the payment of grant to them, but it left the responsibility for providing secondary education with the local authority. It was felt that the degree of reform undertaken would vary widely from one County Council to another so that in some districts little or nothing would be done and existing private schools would not have to compete with rate-aided municipal schools. Similarly, the treatment accorded to private schools by local authorities would differ widely from each other. The P.S.A.I. saw that they would have to increase their influence at the local level in future, but that, in the short term, they might secure some safeguards in the Bill which would ensure the uniform treatment of private schools or limit the extent to which local authorities would be able to interfere with them. It was reassuring for them that the Bill did not attempt to control or interfere with private schools, but it aroused fears that they might suffer from being ignored. The Association saw, too, that it would require an efficient organisation in the future. The financial fortunes of the Association were at a low ebb and it was forced to give up its Bloomsbury office and disperse with the services of its first paid official, H.C. Devine, Organising Secretary who had been employed for a year, but it appointed a fulltime Secretary and Treasurer, H.R. Beasley at a salary of £300 a year.

Views of County Councils' Association

The apprehensions of the P.S.A.I. about the future policy of the L.E.A.'s was confirmed at the Annual Meeting of the County Councils' Association on the 7th May, 1902. At this meeting a series of resolutions was passed in relation to the Education Bill, including one which would have made it impossible for private schools to receive aid from the rates.⁽⁵⁾ A deputation from the County Councils' Association had an interview with the Duke of Devonshire and Sir John Gorst at the Board of Education on 25th June, when they discussed their resolutions. The discussion was interesting in that it revealed quite clearly the attitude of the County Councils and the position of the Board of Education. It was apparent that the County Councils wanted to obtain a maximum of power with the minimum of interference. From the point of view of the County Councils it was easier

(4) S.J. Curtis, "History of Education in Great Britain," London, 1957, (4th ed.) p. 315.

(5) Department of Education and Science Library, Ed. 24, Private Office Papers, Calendar of Education Bill, 1902: Papers. The resolution read, "That words be inserted in the Bill prohibiting grants to schools and colleges conducted for private profit, with the exception of grants for scholarships tenable at such schools and colleges. If any question arises as to whether a school is or is not conducted for private profit, such question should be determined by the Board of Education, whose decision should be final."

to start from scratch with publicly controlled schools than to be troubled with absorbing independent schools. The Duke of Devonshire thought that some private schools could well come within the scope of the County Councils' scheme of secondary education and that the danger of not accepting private schools was that it would lead to the County Council competing where there was already a secondary school; to the objection that the Council would not be represented if assistance were given, he said that representation could be arranged and grant given under certain definite conditions.

Little progress had been made with the Bill before the end of the Parliamentary session in early August. Lord Salisbury, for reasons of age, retired from the premiership and he was succeeded by Balfour, who, decided to carry on in charge of the Bill in Parliament. The change of leadership meant a remodelling of the Government and the Duke of Devonshire and Sir John Gorst departed to make way for Lord Londonderry as President of the Board of Education and Sir William Anson as Parliamentary Secretary to the Board. For a time the fate of the Bill seemed uncertain. Parliament seemed pre-occupied with the section of the Bill dealing with elementary education to the virtual exclusion of all else and there seemed little hope of private schools achieving recognition. Balfour, however, decided to complete the Bill by the method of "closure by compartments" using the guillotine and it became almost certain that the Bill would become law.

In these last stages of the Bill, the hopes of the P.S.A.I. were revived again. Two amendments put down in the names of Charles McArthur and the Right Hon. J.G. Talbot went a long way to securing the P.S.A.I. case. McArthur's amendment would have obliged L.E.A.'s to have regard of the existing supply of efficient schools and would have permitted anybody feeling aggrieved at the action of an L.E.A. to appeal to the Board of Education. Talbot's amendment would have enabled existing schools to appeal to the Board of Education where they considered that a new school proposed by an L.E.A. was not required. Their hopes were dashed when Anson told them that under the new closure arrangements it would be quite impossible to adopt the amendments, though he did suggest that something might be done in the House of Lords.

The disappointment of the Association was completely removed, when, without any previous announcement of his intention, Anson himself moved a new sub-section to the Bill on 25th November. The new sub-section to Clause 2 was claimed by the P.S.A.I. as a victory and read,

A Council, in exercising their powers under this Part of the Act, shall have regard to any existing supply of efficient schools or colleges and any steps already taken for the purposes of higher education under the Technical Instruction Acts, 1889 and 1891. (6)

The P.S.A.I. claimed the amendment as a great victory and as the successful realisation of their aims.

At the beginning of 1903, private schoolmasters felt that the Act had secured a place for them in a national system, and the more progressive of them recognised that this

(6) Hansard, (Fourth Series), Vol. 115, Cols. 479-480, 25th November, 1902.

would entail their becoming more public in character. Their optimism was founded on the fact that the Act could not supply all the secondary education and that it made no attempt to suppress them as a class. The less efficient were pessimistic, as indeed they were under any system, and they felt that they would go the way of the dame schools after the Act of 1870. It was clear that any private school that could make both ends meet would be left unmolested, but the existence of rate-aided schools in competition would make it more difficult for schools in the private sector to make a profit. The future of private schools would depend on how they were treated by the Local Authorities: whether the Authorities would make use of them or set up their own schools in opposition.

CHAPTER 4

THE EMERGENCE OF A NATIONAL SYSTEM, 1903-1918

In the old days all the materials required for a school were a book, a boy, and a cane, and the great object of education was to make the cane drive the book into the boy. Nowadays, if one wanted to skin a frog, a building costing £30,000 was put up to do it in.

Canon Pryke quoted in Secondary Education,
Sept. 15, 1911.

The initial hopes of the P.S.A.I. that the protective clause in the Bill of 1902 would secure them all they desired were quickly to be disappointed. It took several years for all parts of the country to tackle the secondary question, but a general attitude on the part of local authorities soon began to emerge. Many local authorities began surveying their areas and drawing up schemes with a view to remedying deficiencies in secondary education. The complaints of private schools were many and frequent that they had been overlooked or neglected in the plans of the L.E.A.'s. The real problem was that there was no way in which L.E.A.'s could judge the ability of private schools to meet the needs of an area without actually inspecting them. There was also the problem of knowing of the existence of some private schools since they were not obliged to register in any way and no public body was responsible for compiling lists of schools.

Although the P.S.A.I. exhorted its members from time to time to ensure that their schools were efficient and to make use of the scheme of inspection provided for in the Board of Education Act, 1899, there was a general resistance on the part of the Association to admit the inspectors of local authorities to their schools. Private school teachers felt that their schools were different from public schools, and that if they were inspected by those whose experience was limited to public education, they might receive unsympathetic treatment. The P.S.A.I. at first welcomed Registration and Inspection under the Board of Education Act because it hoped that they would be taken as proof of efficiency by the L.E.A.'s. Their attitude changed, however, when they found that L.E.A.'s established schools where there were inspected private schools, and they resumed their original position of isolation.

Immediately following the 1902 Act, however, the aim of the P.S.A.I. was to obtain recognition for its schools by the L.E.A.'s in the hope that they would consider the supply of secondary education in their areas sufficient and not set up rival schools of their own. In addition to this they hoped that recognition would bring direct assistance from L.E.A.'s in the form of grants which they would receive on the same terms as public schools. The P.S.A.I. hoped that Registration would bring with it recognition and would be taken as proof of efficiency, thus keeping out central and local government inspectors.

Teachers' Registration

An Order in Council of 6th March, 1902, set up a Teachers' Registration Council consisting of six members appointed by the President of the Board of Education and six

elected by educational bodies. (1) The conditions of registration were extremely moderate, graduates and those who had passed the Higher Locals Examinations of Oxford and Cambridge and had had three years' experience in a recognised school were admitted. Some indication of the membership of the P.S.A.I. at this time may be deduced from the fact that they considered these conditions too severe. The method of admitting secondary school teachers adopted by the Registration Council was for individual teachers to apply for registration to the Council, which then submitted the name of the school in which the teacher was serving for recognition by the Board of Education. The recognition of schools by the Board of Education for the purposes of registration, worried private school teachers. The objections of the P.S.A.I. to this scheme, again throws some light on the type of private school the Association included in its members.

In 1903 the Regulations for the Teachers' Register were modified so that ten years' experience was considered sufficient qualification for registration. This meant that almost any private school teacher could register. Much to the disappointment of the P.S.A.I., recognition for the purposes of registration was not accepted by L.E.A.'s as evidence of the efficiency or sufficiency of schools. The only value registration brought was that it provided the public with a guarantee that the school was not absolutely scandalous. It became plain that the only recognition of value was that following formal inspection under the Board of Education Act, 1899, but even this was of doubtful value to private school teachers as L.E.A.'s were ignoring recognised schools. Private school teachers did not see the point in paying to have their schools inspected if they were to be ignored afterwards.

Private Schools Ignored by L.E.A.'s

The failure of L.E.A.'s to aid or recognise private schools was to be at the root of the bitterness of private school teachers for many years to come. The question was complicated by the system of awarding grants by the Exchequer. Local Authorities could aid schools from the rates and there was nothing in the Act of 1902 to prevent them from assisting private schools in this way. But schools aided by Local Authorities which conformed with the Board of Education's Regulations for Secondary Schools earned a grant from the Exchequer for the L.E.A. In the first set of Regulations issued by the Board (2) the main stipulations were that the school had to be open for inspection by the Board, that it had a body of managers and that the accounts had to be open to inspection by the Board. It would have been possible for private schools to conform to these Regulations and earn grant for L.E.A.'s, but in the next set of Regulations (3) a clause was inserted stating that the school "must not be conducted for private profit or farmed out to the Teacher." The effect of these Regulations was not to prohibit aid by L.E.A.'s to private schools,

-
- (1) The six bodies were the Headmasters' Conference, The Headmasters' Association, The Headmistresses' Association, The College of Preceptors, The Teachers' Guild and The National Union of Teachers.
 - (2) Board of Education. Regulations for Secondary Day Schools (From 1st August, 1902 to 31st July, 1903) Cd. 1102, 1902.
 - (3) Board of Education. Regulations for Secondary Schools (From 1st August, 1903 to 31st July, 1904) Cd. 1668, 1903. A Clause to this effect appeared in all the subsequent regulations.

but to place the whole of such aid on the rates.

Under these conditions, most L.E.A.'s did not feel disposed to aid private schools. A deputation from the P.S.A.I. to the Board of Education in August 1904 was told that the Board,

.... could do nothing without the authority of Parliament, and they expressed the opinion that there was a strong feeling in the House against paying any grants to private schools. Sir Henry Kimber and Sir George Bartley confirmed this opinion. (4)

In fact, the prohibition rested on a departmental regulation, which, Professor M.E. Sadler said, a Minister could alter at any time. (5)

Private School Demands

During 1905 the P.S.A.I. organised a national petition, to be signed by private school teachers only, to present to the Prime Minister. This petition, signed by five thousand private teachers, asked that the new Liberal Prime Minister or President of the Board of Education should receive a deputation representing the private school interest. The request was supported by fifty members of Parliament and the deputation met the new President of the Board of Education, Augustine Birrell, on 19th March, 1906.

Dr. F.A. Sibly presented the case for the P.S.A.I. by arguing that the Royal Commission had not condemned private schools, but private schools had found it difficult to obtain recognition in the 1902 Act. Although the Government had added subsection 2, they would not agree to an explicit reference to private schools. Subsequently, Sibly claimed,

.... the Act has since been so administered that, as far as our information carries us, there are at the present time, out of many thousands of private schools, but four individual schools which are being utilized by the Local Authority. (6)

Because of the prejudice existing against private schools, L.E.A.'s were encouraged to go out of their way to ignore them. He argued that the cost of municipal education fell most heavily on the working class, because they had to pay rates and their children were not educated in the secondary schools. If the existing trend were to continue it would mean the wholesale destruction of private schools, and this, Sibly maintained, would add to the rates and destroy the elasticity of the English system of education.

-
- (4) Secondary Education, Sept. 15, 1905, pp. 187-196, "The Legislative Policy of the Association." Speech by F. Arthur Sibly, July 15, 1905. The deputation from the P.S.A.I. met Lord Londonderry, Sir William Carron, Morant and Bruce.
- (5) Secondary Education, May 16, 1910, pp. 63-64, "The State and Private Schools. Professor Sadler's Suggestions."
- (6) Secondary Education, March 15, 1906, pp. 29-35.

The Government's Case

Birrell's reply was frank and was an accurate description of the existing political situation. The granting of positive functions to education committees could only result in positive action,

The moment you invest Authorities with powers making it their business to see that there is a good system of education - first of all, elementary; and, secondly, secondary - in their area, they get the idea very rapidly into their heads that no system can be good which is not under their control.

Birrell realised that the clause in the 1902 Act was no protection for private schools in the face of the desire to reform or create a secondary system of education, and, as he expressed it,

It is very hard to resist the pressure that they (the L. E. A. 's) put upon you, and it is very difficult to see how a little clause like the clause stuck in the Act of 1902 - in perfect good faith, but still hardly more than a moral obligation - can be effective. (7)

He thought that it would be affectation to deny that private schools were in a perilous position because "they run counter to very strong local feelings which have been excited by legislation." Birrell urged private schools to seek inspection so that they could call the attention of L. E. A. 's to themselves and claim the protection of the Act.

The P. S. A. I. found little to reassure them from the interview, the more so when Birrell introduced his Education Bill in the House of Commons on 6th April, 1906. For the most part the Bill was concerned with the complicated religious question, but it also proposed to abolish the limit of a twopenny rate that L. E. A. 's could raise for secondary education. Although the Bill passed the three readings in the House of Commons, it was so amended in the Lords that the government dropped it. In 1907 a more modest Bill was passed, Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, which relieved the Board of Education of responsibility to keep a register of teachers, although it provided for a Registration Council representative of the teaching profession.

Isolated Position of Private Schools: Policy of Reaction

The result of the refusal of most local authorities to take account of private schools and of the government's refusal to aid them, led the P. S. A. I. into a more and more isolated position. Some private school teachers came to think that if there was no chance of their being incorporated in a state system, then they should reconsider their policy in the light of existing conditions. The trend became for them to take up their earlier position of attacking indiscriminately all forms of public education and asserting their complete independence. This change was seen clearly during a discussion on the legislative policy of the Association in a speech made by F. A. Sibly. (8)

(7) Ibid., p. 33.

(8) Secondary Education, Sept. 15, 1905, pp. 187-196, "The Legislative Policy of the Association," Speech made by F. Arthur Sibly to a meeting of the executive on July 15, 1905.

The policy that Sibly advocated was to obtain legislation to restrict education below cost to those who were actually in need:

My policy, then, demands that, of children attending public secondary schools, those only shall receive education below cost price at the public expense whose parents can show that they could not otherwise afford such education. (9)

Since, through this policy, all could be treated alike, free competition would prevail and the survival of the fittest would operate, causing the inefficient to go to the wall and rendering unnecessary any scheme in inspection to certify the efficiency of schools. The income limit for the receipt of education below cost, Sibly thought, should be £160 a year, as the London County Council reserved two thirds of its scholarships to parents with incomes up to this amount. (10) Sibly was a thoroughgoing believer in laissez-faire and his influence, combined with the circumstances of the time, accounted for the change in P.S.A.I. policy, a move away from compromise with the state and a forceful assertion of independence.

Fortunes of the P.S.A.I.

The change of mood and policy of the P.S.A.I. was accompanied by a corresponding change in its numbers and finances. The initial optimism of 1902 was accompanied by the most rapid increase in membership in the history of the Association. In 1891 the membership had been only 177 and this had grown to about 600 in 1895 where it remained fairly constant for some years. (11) By March, 1903, the Association had more than a thousand members which led to the understandable enthusiasm of its spokesman who wrote,

A new era is dawning. There is growth - substantial and vigorous - in numbers and in status, and our position is rapidly improving week by week. We have outgrown our articles of association, which declared our numbers at a thousand, and every month is now bringing us well over a hundred new members. This month, by the time the Council meets, there will be probably two hundred more. (12)

The thousand members were organised into 31 branches and 8 sections. By October, 1903, 770 new members had joined since the previous year and the membership was organised into over fifty sections and branches. At the Council meeting on 12th December, the General Secretary announced the Association's highest recorded membership of 1,526 and 14 new members were elected at the same meeting.

(9) Ibid., p. 191.

(10) Secondary Education, March 15, 1906, p.31. £160 per annum was also the lower limit for the payment of Income Tax, below this amount no tax was payable.

(11) The School World, June, 1903, pp. 216-218, unsigned article, "The Private Schools Association, Incorporated."

(12) Secondary Education, March 16, 1903, p. 47, unsigned article, "The Growth of the Association."

From this point the numbers of the Association declined as conditions became more difficult for private schools. By January, 1906, membership had fallen to 1,300, but there were still 48 branches in existence. Subsequent annual reports did not give figures, but mentioned falling numbers and an article in 1913 stated,

The Association which solely concerns itself with the protection of the interests of private schools has never, we believe, obtained a membership of two thousand, and to-day its members are below a thousand. (13)

Alliances with Middle Class Organisations

As the P.S.A.I. declined in strength and as it became more apparent that it was unlikely that private schools would be absorbed into a national system of education, so the Association allied itself more with middle class organisations aimed at limiting municipal expenditure. For these reasons, the Association maintained friendly relations with the British Constitutional Association, and in addition to the Federation of Ratepayers' Associations it also appointed representatives to the Middle Classes Defence Organization. It urged its members to join associations of this type, including the Education Authorities Vigilance Society, and when Beasley left the post of General Secretary to the P.S.A.I. in 1909, he was immediately employed by the newly formed National Federation of Rate-payers.

Varying Policy of L.E.A.'s

The policy of L.E.A.'s with regard to private schools varied enormously from county to county. Some Authorities interpreted the 1902 Act as imposing a duty on them to provide secondary education and they instituted schemes as soon as they could. These authorities established secondary schools of their own, some, in their zeal, going further than the Board of Education wished. At Nottingham, the Education Committee planned to establish four new secondary schools in the city, but the Board of Education considered one school sufficient. (14)

On the other hand, many L.E.A.'s were prepared to make use of private schools by counting them as part of the existing supply of secondary education in order to save the rates. At Poole, the resolution to build a municipal secondary school was rescinded on the grounds that it would be too costly and it would be more economical to make use of existing private schools. (15) When the Cornwall County Council proposed building a secondary school for girls at Penzance, the Penzance Education Committee voted to resist the proposal on the grounds that there were private schools for girls already in existence.

(13) Secondary Education, Sept. 15, 1913, pp. 79-82.

(14) This was announced at a meeting of the Nottingham Education Committee on 20th April, 1904. The P.S.A.I. had appealed to the Board that due regard had not been given to the existing supply. Secondary Education, May 7, 1904, p. 53.

(15) Bournemouth Guardian quoted in Secondary Education, May 15, 1906, p. 58. The original resolution of the Council was passed on 8th December, 1905.

A similar situation existed at Southport where the local Trades Council had asked for a municipal secondary school, but the Corporation had turned the suggestion down on the grounds that there was ample provision of secondary education in private schools at reasonable cost and there was therefore no justification for putting an extra burden on the rates. It was stated in the House of Commons on 14th July, 1910, that the Board of Education had been pressing the Southport Corporation for some years. Some authorities went to considerable trouble to discover the private schools in their area in order to make use of them. Plymouth published a list of efficient private schools in the area and offered free inspection under the Board of Education Act, 1899, and a similar scheme was established in Middlesex.

Despite the existence of local authorities wishing to make use of private schools, largely for reasons of economy, the number of municipally supported schools rose steadily over the period. The number of secondary schools in England and Wales recognised by the Board of Education as eligible for grant rose from 418 in the year 1902-3 to 1,047 in 1914-15 and the pupils in them from 85,973 in 1903-4 to 198,884 in 1914-15. The increase of supported schools over the period averaged 48 a year, or nearly one new aided school each week. When one considers that these schools were generally larger and better equipped than private schools, one can understand the concern of the P.S.A.I. over this rate of increase.

P.S.A.I. Disillusionment with 1902 Act

The P.S.A.I. realised that Clause 2, which it had hailed as a victory in 1902, was proving very little protection against the encroachment of the state. The Teachers' Guild took up the case of the private schools, especially with regard to the way in which they had been ignored by L.E.A.'s. At the Annual General Meeting of the Guild in 1909 a resolution was passed requesting the Council to appoint a committee to investigate the conditions under which grants could be made to efficient private schools. The report of this committee was very thorough in examining all aspects, factual, theoretical and political, of the private school position.⁽¹⁶⁾ The committee found that there was no law prohibiting the allocation of national or local funds to private schools, although the payment of national funds was forbidden by a regulation of the Board of Education which could be altered at any time by the Board. The committee felt that, subject to guarantees, private schools should be eligible to receive public grant along with other schools, since, if they were efficient, then they were performing a public service. The committee argued that many efficient private schools were being driven out of existence because they could not compete with aided schools and that their loss was a general one, as they served as centres of initiative and experiment. "Conditions," the Report urged, "should be weighed rather than counted," in order that the essential liberty of these schools might be preserved.

The Committee found that there was no information in existence concerning the practice of L.E.A.'s in relation to private schools. As a consequence, a circular was sent to 123 County and County Borough Councils in England, asking what grants were made to private schools, and on what conditions. Of the 107 replies received, 90 stated that no grants whatever were given to private schools:

(16) Teachers' Guild of Great Britain and Ireland. 27th Annual Report of the Council, 1910-1911, Appendix, pp. 50-53, "Report of the Committee Appointed to Consider the Question of Public Aids to Private Schools."

Of the remaining 17, 7 allowed, or had no objection to allowing, scholarships to be held at private schools; 3 gave grants to certain proprietary or endowed schools; 1 had paid expenses of inspection of a private school; and there were 7 cases of grants of various kinds to private schools. (17)

The overall result of the action of the Teachers' Guild was to bring the P.S.A.I. once more away from its policy of isolation. Because of this and other influences, the P.S.A.I. saw that the time had come for private schools to come to terms with the state. The emergence of new problems caused the P.S.A.I. to change its policy in relation to the state and inspection. It became clear that in the reforms discussed in the years before the 1914-18 War, the school would be taken as the unit for recognition. Secondary school teachers had been pressing for a national superannuation scheme and at a conference at the Drapers' Hall on 6th May, 1911, A. A. Somerville of Eton in considering the possible admission of private schools had said,

..... if the governing bodies of such schools will submit, as they ought to do, to the test of efficiency, and if they make a statutory contribution to the fund, I see no reason why such schools should not come into the system. (18)

At the same time the Report of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education on Examinations in Secondary Schools in 1912, indicated that schools might possibly be taken as the unit to be entered in the future and not individual candidates. With the revival, too, of the Teachers' Registration Council in February, 1912, there was the danger that the school would be used as the unit for the Teachers' Register. These trends emphasised for the P.S.A.I. the necessity for the official recognition of efficiency.

Over the period as a whole, the relationship between the state and private schools had been ambiguous. The Schools Inquiry Commissioners had been in favour of universal inspection, but the Royal Commission of 1895 would have limited it to sanitary inspection. As it was, the 1902 Act did not impose any system of compulsory inspection and schools wishing to assert their absolute independence of the state were free to do so. The Board of Education Act of 1899 had provided for voluntary inspection by the Board, a University or other body (meaning the College of Preceptors), but inspection under this Act had a very short history and was explained in a Board of Education Report. (19) The decline in the number of schools making use of inspection under the 1899 Act was brought about by the introduction of the 1904 Regulations for Secondary Schools, which demanded free inspection by the Board of Education only, as a condition of receiving grant. Inspection

(17) Ibid., p. 50.

(18) Secondary Education, July 15, 1911, p. 102.

(19) Report of the Board of Education for the Year 1913-1914, Cd. 7934, 1915, Chapter I "Inspection of Secondary Schools by the State; Its History and Character," pp. 10-46. "the number of inspections rose rapidly from 5 in 1900 to 137 in 1903, and to 91 in the first half of 1904. Then came a sudden drop to 10 in the second half of that year, and to 19 for the whole of the following year. Since 1905 inspection under the Act has been an exceptional occurrence." (p. 27).

under the Act would have been made use of by Public and Private schools, but the full cost had to be borne by the school and only "a few schools which were either very prosperous, or conducted by very enthusiastic principals, faced the cost; but in general it was prohibitive." (20) Some L. E. A. 's making surveys of their areas, persuaded private schools to be inspected under the Act, and paid the cost. But, in general, it was contrary to the general policy of private schools to seek inspection. The P.S.A.I. claimed that the Registration of teachers was a substitute for inspection and argued that the recognition of a school for the purposes of Registration was a sufficient guarantee of efficiency.

Recognition as Efficient

The Education Act of 1907 relieved the Board of Education of the responsibility for keeping a Teachers' Register but the Board instituted a list of schools officially recognised as efficient. Inspection for the purposes of registration had been very superficial and many schools irritated officials of the Board by inserting in their advertisements "Recognised by the Board of Education" without any indication of the specific purpose for which "recognition" had been granted. It became clear that the Board of Education intended the new system of inspection for recognition to be a proper guarantee of really efficient secondary education without jeopardising standards by admitting the weaker schools. The first regulation declared,

The Board will determine the efficiency of the School by inspection, and must be satisfied that the School has an adequate staff, provides a suitable curriculum and efficient instruction and possesses adequate premises and equipment. (21)

The Board stated that it would not charge for inspection and that a copy of the Report would be sent to the Headmaster or Headmistress and to the L. E. A., though not for publication without the permission of the school. When the first list was published in 1908, the Board expanded on what it understood by secondary education, in saying,

It should be understood that the list is confined to schools which have not less than 20 pupils over 12 years of age (this being regarded by the Board as the minimum number below which it is not possible to have the full organisation and the class teaching which are essential to the idea of an efficient Secondary School), and are, in other respects, Secondary Schools in the full sense of the following requirements, as laid down in the Board's Regulations for Secondary Schools, 1907. (22)

(20) Ibid., p. 31.

(21) Board of Education. Supplementary Regulations for Secondary Schools in England (Excluding Monmouthshire), 1907, Cd. 3704, 1907, B.P.P. 1907, CXII, 647, p.16.

(22) Board of Education. List of Secondary Schools in England Recognised as Efficient with a List of Recognised Pupil-Teacher Centres, 1907-1908, Cd. 4374, 1908, B.P.P. 1908, LXXXIII, 261.

The Board's main requirements were that the education given should be wider than that of the elementary schools and that it should be suitable for an age range from 12 to 16 or 17 years of age. Also, the Board required an adequate proportion of the school to stay for the full four years' course.

The initial reaction of the P.S.A.I. to the list was hostile and the intention of the Board to send a copy of the report of inspection to the L.E.A. was disliked. A conference of the P.S.A.I. in 1908 rejected the new list because it felt that dictation would arise as a school would have to conform to the Board's concept of secondary education as defined by their regulations in order to be granted recognition. In this attitude, something of the concept of independence for its own sake began to emerge. Until about this time independence had always been linked with arguments in favour of laissez-faire or with the vested interests of private enterprise. Gradually, there developed the idea that the very fact of independence gave to private schools a special quality. The position was that private schools claimed to be doing much the same work as the L.E.A. secondary schools and endowed schools, but they also claimed that they could not be judged by the same regulations to determine efficiency as these schools. The difference, it was argued, lay in the condition of independence.

Over the next few years the P.S.A.I. was to complain repeatedly that the standards adopted for recognition by the Board of Education were too high. The P.S.A.I. claimed that the Board applied a standard to private-school premises that was really intended for the building of new municipal secondary schools. This was denied by the Board which stated that up to 1914,

..... of the 74 private schools which have, after inspection, failed to obtain admission to the 'Efficient List', not one was refused on the ground of buildings alone. (23)

It would appear that the main reason why many private schools did not get on to the list was the fact that they did not have what the Board considered a reasonable number of pupils being educated up to the age of 16 and beyond. The Board, in fact, did not inspect all schools that applied, and very few private schools got on to the list. The Board's Report stated that,

The establishment of the 'Efficient List', with its accompanying free inspection, soon brought in numerous applications. In many cases, however, it was obvious on enquiry that the school could not fulfil the conditions, and inspection had to be refused. In over 90 cases inspection was carried out, and 21 Private Schools in all have been placed on the 'Efficient List'. Of these, 16 are girls' schools, 4 are boys' schools, and 1 is a school for boys and girls. (24)

Up to this time whilst the P.S.A.I. had abandoned hope of getting grants and was pursuing a policy of complete independence there seemed to be no point in securing recognition from the state.

(23) Report of the Board of Education for the year 1913-1914, Cd. 7934, 1915, p.32.

(24) Ibid., pp. 31-32. Including the 21 private schools referred to, there were 117 schools in all recognised as efficient on the list.

In 1913, J.A. Pease, President of the Board of Education, attacked the inefficient private schools giving a feeble yet pretentious secondary education and known at the Board as 'Cavendish Academies'.⁽²⁵⁾ The P.S.A.I. worked itself up into its usual stage fury of righteous indignation as was its custom when such attacks were made, claiming that Pease had insulted private schools as a whole and casting doubt on the existence of schools of this type. Pease said that Members could draw their own conclusions from the reports of inspectors who had been invited to visit some private schools in Middlesex in connection with the Teachers' Registration Council.⁽²⁶⁾ The trouble, he maintained, was that in some districts no good secondary schools existed and parents had to rely on "Cavendish Academies." Pease's speech was in itself a hint that the compulsory inspection on private schools was a distinct possibility in the future. In a later speech at

- (25) 'Cavendish Academy' appears in "Kipps" by H.G. Wells, Chapter I, Section 2. " 'Cavendish Academy' the school that had won the limited choice of Kipps' vanished mother, was established in a battered private house in the part of Hastings remotest from the sea; it was called an Academy for Young Gentlemen, and many of the young gentlemen had parents in 'India' and other unverifiable places. Others were the sons of credulous widows, anxious, as Kipps' mother had been, to get something a little 'superior' to a board school education as cheaply as possible, and others, again, were sent to demonstrate the dignity of their parents and guardians. And of course there were boys from France. Its 'principal' was a lean, long creature of indifferent digestion and temper, who proclaimed himself in a gilt-lettered board in his front area, George Garden Woodrow, F.S.Sc., letters indicating that he had paid certain guineas for a bogus diploma. A bleak, white-washed outhouse constituted his schoolroom, and the scholastic quality of its carved and worn desks and forms was enhanced by a slippery blackboard of two large, yellow, out-of-date maps - one of Africa and the other of Wiltshire - that he had picked up cheap at a sale. There were other maps and globes in his study, where he interviewed inquiring parents, but these his pupils never saw."
- (26) Hansard (Fifth Series), Vol. LV, 22 July, 1913, Cols. 1907-1924. Pease read a report from one of the inspectors: - "There are sixty-six boys in the school. The school was dingy, dirty, poor, and ill-lighted, and the light was so defective that the gas was burning at a quarter to three on a fine afternoon. The ventilation is also probably very defective, but the school had the advantage of a broken window. The only cloakroom was a dark cupboard - like place with twenty-five pegs for sixty-six boys. There was only one convenience in the whole school and one wash-hand basin for all the boys. In another school four classes are taken in an old tin church, while the lowest class is held in an adjoining club-room in the space between two billiard tables. The instruction was not unworthy of the premises. There were no desks or equipment and instruction was given anyway. In another school there were twenty-two boys between the ages of eleven and eighteen in one class. In another school the anxiety of the mistress for the physical well-being of the children was such that she considered ten minutes stretch of the arms on a blackboard so important that no matter what lesson was going on, two girls must always be at the blackboard, which gave the impression of a crucifixion of two at the end of a long school-room. When their ten minutes was up, they gave place to another two girls, who left their seats and took their places, and this went on all day long."

Oswestry on 5th March, 1914, he said that he realised that he had offended private school teachers, but wanted to make plain that he was not attacking all private schools.

All that he did was to point out that without inspection there was no guarantee to parents that they were receiving the full value of the money they were paying for education. (27)

By 1914 the P.S.A.I. realised that the only recognition of real value was that afforded by the Board of Education after inspection. A leader in Secondary Education on the subject concluded,

The great task to be accomplished by the Association... is to induce the Board of Education to accede to the demand that private schools shall be admitted to the Board's list of secondary schools recognised as efficient, on easier terms than the Board is at present prepared to admit them; and to secure for them as a consequence of recognition such protection and assistance as recognition should carry with it. (28)

1918 Education Act

When H. A. L. Fisher introduced his second Education Bill in 1918 it caused further concern among private-school teachers. Clause 23 provided for the free inspection of those schools asking for it and Clause 24 required all schools to provide information about themselves to the Board of Education. The Bill also provided for compulsory continuation schools for pupils over the full-time leaving age and Clause 10 allowed for the exemption of pupils in recognised schools from these continuation classes. This Clause worried private school teachers because if their schools were not recognised, then pupils above the school leaving age in their schools would not be considered exempt from continuation classes and would have to leave. No mention was made in the Bill of aid to private schools or of compulsory inspection, and it was plain that the state intended to respect the absolute freedom of schools to choose their own form of organisation and curriculum, but it was not prepared to bring such schools into a national system.

A deputation from the P.S.A.I. and the College of Preceptors met H. A. L. Fisher, the President of the Board of Education, on 5th March, 1918, and as in all previous deputations of this kind, the two sides seemed to be completely at cross-purposes, neither side being willing or able to understand the case of the other. The deputation laid before the Board a series of points asking for grants and inclusion in the superannuation scheme. On the question of pensions, the P.S.A.I. case was that all registered teachers should be eligible, but the Board was firm in stating that the difficulties of applying the scheme to teachers in private schools were too great and it would have to be limited to teachers in grant-earning schools.

(27) Oswestry and Border Counties Advertizer, and Montgomeryshire Mercury, March 11, 1914, p. 9.

(28) Secondary Education, Jan. 1, 1914, pp. 3-6.

H.A.L. Fisher made no real attempt to answer the points raised by the P.S.A.I. except to say that there would be Parliamentary difficulty in giving public money to schools under private management. He gave what had become the stock official reply, that he realised that excellent work was being done in private schools and he hoped that they would always continue to exist.

A campaign to secure an amendment to Clause 10 of the Bill, which limited exemption from continuation schools to those in recognised schools, was led by Dr. F.A. Sibly and Sir Philip Magnus. The object of the amendment was to permit inspection by a university to count as the equivalent of inspection by the Board of Education. The debate on the amendment raised most of the questions affecting freedom in education and demonstrated the determination of the government to interfere as little as possible with those wishing to retain their independence. Fisher announced that the term efficient was not used in the Bill in the sense ordinarily attached to it by the Board of Education: in order to be considered the equivalent of continuation classes, the instruction given in schools could be of a very much lower grade than that required for recognition. He defended the Board of Education against the charge that they were too rigid in their standards, by saying that it was only necessary to look at the names on the list of efficient schools to see that it was untrue:

I will not mention names, but on that list there are schools of the most unconventional type, even of the most fantastic type, I should say. Perhaps the feature which astonishes me most, and which I was surprised to find when I went to the Board of Education, was the predilection which the Board appears to have shown for highly unconventional schools. (29)

Fisher accepted the principle that a university should be allowed to inspect schools, but in order to ensure that standards should be roughly the same in different parts of the country, he proposed an amendment which permitted university inspection "under Regulations reached after consultation with the Board of Education." Magnus accepted Fisher's amendment and withdrew his own.

Summary

In the years between 1902 and 1918 private schools fought a losing battle against the forces intent on establishing an efficient public system of secondary education. Out of the educational anarchy of the middle years of the nineteenth century there gradually emerged the demand for order and efficiency in education. From the economic point of view, the reform of primary education had created a disciplined industrial working-class and had made essential the need to train an efficient managerial and professional class. The effect of the 1902 Act was not only to extend and expand secondary education, but to improve it in quality at the same time. The vast majority of private secondary schools were trying to provide the same type of education as the L.E.A. schools and these schools not only felt the increased competition through the creation of new schools, but

(29) Hansard (Fifth Series), Vol. 106, Col. 1962.

they fell behind in quality as the Board raised the standard of secondary education.⁽³⁰⁾ All the available evidence points to the vast majority of private schools being small in size, generally under 50 pupils, with most pupils leaving before the age of 16, the proprietor providing most of the teaching and the school being held in a converted house. H.G. Wells who worked for a time at J. Vine Milne's Henley House School, described in a very apt way the position of private schools in his autobiography.

I suppose the day is not very remote when the last of these private schools will have vanished from the earth. Fifty years ago they were still responsible for the education or want of education, of a considerable fraction of the British middle-class. They were under no public control at all. Anyone might own one, anyone might teach in one, no standard of attainment was required of them; the parents dipped their sons into them as they thought proper and took them out when they thought they were done. Certain university and quasi-public bodies conducted examinations to which a number of the brighter pupils were submitted in order to enhance the prestige of the establishment, and these examining bodies exerted a distinct influence upon the choice of subjects. For the most part these private schools passed the middle-class youth of England on to business or professional life incapable of any foreign language, incapable indeed of writing or speaking their own except in the clumsiest manner, unable to use their eyes or hands to draw or handle apparatus, grossly ignorant of physical science, history or economics, contemptuous of the board-school boy and with just enough consciousness of their deficiencies to make them suspicious of, or hostile to, intellectual ability and equipment.⁽³¹⁾

That private schools, apart from the best, were not eliminated altogether with the provision of municipal education is accounted for by the fact that the demand outran the state supply. The determination of the Board to preserve standards and not permit an unlimited expansion of municipal schools meant that L.E.A.'s could not provide places for all the middle-class children in their areas. The only public alternative to the secondary school was the board school, and sending one's children to this, to judge by many contemporary accounts, was the equivalent in other societies of selling one's children into slavery. M.E. Sadler thought that the class divisions in English society had led to a point of view which inclined to organise education in three main compartments, Public schools, secondary and elementary, each from beginning to end independent of the other two, for the ruling, intermediate and labouring classes. This view was heard

(30) In answer to those who said that some private schools were worth preserving, *Secondary Education*, Oct. 1917, pp. 61-62, "The Government and Private Schools," wrote, "Have they in mind only special schools, such as Abbotsholme and Clayesmore? If so, they cut out from reckoning the vast number of schools which are providing ordinary education on the same lines, and with equal success, as the endowed schools and the recently established public secondary schools."

(31) H.G. Wells, *"Experiment in Autobiography,"* pp. 321-322, London, 1934.

repeatedly from the critics of municipal secondary education who claimed that secondary education should be limited to a small section of the population as it was unsuited to working-class children. An example of this view was expressed in a leader in Secondary Education which said,

..... the great bulk of the pupils to be educated in elementary schools will be compelled to earn their living - if they ever earn a living - by manual labour rather than by their brains, and that this great majority, variously estimated from 95 to 99 per cent, will require a less bookish and a much more practical education than they have hitherto enjoyed. (32)

At a public meeting on secondary education held at Melksham in 1907, "a labouring man" said that the labouring classes should not aim too high, "They wanted their children to be handy men, but not higher in the ranks where they were not wanted. (33) Dr. Sibly in dealing with the reasons for the persistence of some private schools, wrote,

Some of my readers, doubtless, trust to the feeling which induces parents to patronize private schools, rather than submit their children to the society of their social inferiors. Such security of tenure as we have derives chiefly from this feeling. (34)

It was argued that private schools could,

..... insist on a tone and manners which cannot always be enforced in schools the pupils of which are drawn from all corners. (35)

Private schools were very much aware that their existence, to a large part, depended on social distinctions. The Birmingham and Warwick County Branch of the P.S.A.I. discussed ways of keeping schools select and reported,

When applications are received from parents of unsuitable social standing, the difficulty may be met in one of the following ways:- (i) by stating that there is no vacancy in a suitable class; (ii) by setting an examination and reporting that the applicant is not up to the requisite

-
- (32) Secondary Education, Jan. 16, 1905, p. 91, "Looking Backward," unsigned article.
- (33) Secondary Education, Nov. 15, 1907, pp. 115-119, "Secondary Education in Wiltshire."
- (34) Secondary Education, Dec. 15, 1903, pp. 231-235, "An Appeal" by F. Arthur Sibly.
- (35) Bristol Times and Mirror, Oct. 22, 1913, quoted in Secondary Education, Nov. 15, 1913, pp. 111-114, Interview with Mr. Thomas Cranshaw, Headmaster of Tellisford House School, Redland.

standard; (iii) by admitting the applicant on the understanding that he would be expelled from the school at once if his presence caused other pupils to give notice. (36)

Over the period the demand for the compulsory inspection of private schools had grown, but in the 1918 Act the state refused to grasp the nettle. It was reasonable, as M. E. Sadler described it, that any private school claiming to fill a place in the national system of education should have to submit to inspection and comply with the public requirements of the L. E. A. and the state. But, since it was the policy of the Board of Education not to encourage aid to private schools, largely because it was felt that they would not come up to Board's requirements, the problem was how to determine efficiency for such schools. The state did not attempt to solve the problem, but merely ignored it, and left out completely private schools from the 1918 Act.

(36) Secondary Education, Jan. 1916, p. 14, "News From the Branches."

Introduction

The Education Acts of 1918 and 1921 aimed at constructing a national system of education which placed on Local Education Authorities the responsibility of "providing for the progressive development and comprehensive organisation of education in respect of their area." Private schoolteachers at last recognised that a complete system of public education was inevitable and, in fact, were glad that the Government had left them to go their own way without imposing crippling restrictions.

The policy of the P.S.A.I. between the wars was to set its own house in order by trying to raise standards in private schools and eliminating the inefficient. The Association recognised too that there was now no hope of incorporating private schools into a national system and that it should therefore concentrate on establishing friendly relations with public authorities. Whereas, in the past, it had attempted to resist change and had hoped for radical changes in its favour in the public sector, it now preferred to seek ways of making the best of the existing situation. Whilst asserting, as always, the principle of independence, the P.S.A.I. became more pragmatic in its approach to day to day affairs.

There were, however, in the educational legislation between 1918 and 1921 a number of proposals which either made private schoolteachers apprehensive or affected them adversely and in some respects put them on the defensive. During these years it was thought that the whole of the 1918 Education Act would be brought into operation. The shortages, however, caused by the war prevented all the provisions of the Act from being implemented immediately and the ensuing economic crisis and depression brought about a continual deferment of certain reforms. It had been thought that private schools would be affected by the provision of the Act that demanded that children leaving school at fourteen would have to attend a recognised continuation school for 320 hours each year. In the event, very few authorities were able to insist on compulsory attendance at continuation schools and what had appeared as a danger to private schools warranting an amendment during the passage of the Bill, in fact, never materialised.

Attempts to Improve Efficiency

Because it was thought that the 1918 Act would affect private schools adversely, there was a large increase in the membership of the P.S.A.I. Membership of the Association had been down to 300 in 1915, but by 1920 there were, 1,100 and 103 new members were reported to have joined during 1921.⁽¹⁾ These numbers gradually declined and at the time of the Departmental Committee Report in 1932 the Association represented over 800 principals.⁽²⁾ The P.S.A.I. was frightened that this influx of members might weaken its position because of the danger that those joining might be the inefficient seeking protection. At a meeting of the Council on 8th January, 1919, it was decided that the time

(1) Secondary Education, Feb. 1921, p. 26 and Feb. 1922, p. 5.

(2) Board of Education, Report of the Departmental Committee on Private Schools and other schools not in receipt of grants from public funds, H.M.S.O., 1932, (27-228), p. 30.

had come to make some definite rules for the admission of new members and a resolution requiring qualifications and experience was passed.(3) In 1920 a scheme was adopted which demanded that a principal should be a registered teacher and a graduate or its equivalent, or in the case of his being neither, then half of the staff should be graduates or registered or certificated teachers. (4)

It had been intended in the 1918 Act to bring private schools and L. E. A. 's into closer contact. Section 28(1)(a) of the Act had empowered the Board of Education to collect information about private schools and to require particulars from existing schools and new schools within three months of their opening. The Board never exercised its power to make regulations to oblige proprietors to supply particulars periodically but only required a return giving the name, address and a brief description of the school. Each school was only required to submit the return once with the result that the figures the Board published referred to schools that had registered and there was no way of determining whether they had subsequently closed or changed their character. The Section of the Act came into force on 1st April, 1919, and private schools were slow to respond. 5,000 returns were received in the first two years, by 1923 about 7,300 were returned and this figure slowly rose to about 9,000 at the time of the Departmental Committee on Private Schools, 1932.(5)

The Act also gave the impression to private schools that L. E. A. 's had been given power under Section I, to supervise education generally in their area. L. E. A. 's were charged with drawing up schemes for the progressive development and comprehensive organisation of education of their area and no mention was made of excluding private schools. Once a scheme had been submitted and approved by the Board, the L. E. A. became responsible for seeing that it was carried out. As a result of this, private schools felt that they would presently come under some form of state inspection and the P. S. A. I. urged its members to seek registration and to look to the condition of their schools. Some authorities, in drawing up their schemes, took account of private schools and made complete surveys of their areas. But the intentions of the Act suffered a severe setback during the economy campaigns of the 1920's. This period was summarised by the Departmental Committee, 1932:

-
- (3) Secondary Education, Jan. 1919, pp. 7-8, ".... it was decided that in future no one should be nominated without holding at least one of the following qualifications:- (a) Registration; (b) a University Degree or its recognised equivalent, together with three years' experience or training; (c) five years' experience in a school, or schools, approved by the Executive, of which at least two years shall be as head. The qualifications for assistants to be (a) or (b) as above."
- (4) Secondary Education, Feb. 1920, pp. 25-26, "The following points were then laid down as a means of establishing efficiency: (1) Registration of the principal, (2) graduation or its equivalent, (3) if the principal be non-registered and non-graduate, 50 per cent of the staff to be registered or graduated or certificated, (4) efficiency may be established by favourable reports - (a) from a University College or Board of Education or Local Authority, (b) from College of Preceptors or officials appointed by the Association, after visitation, (c) from heads of schools into which pupils have passed."
- (5) Departmental Committee on Private Schools, op.cit., p. 19.

During the period of stringent economy in public expenditure which began in 1921 the procedure of statutory 'Schemes' was abandoned and the prospect of some gradually increasing supervision of private schools disappeared from view. Even the keenest of the Local Education Authorities tended to lose interest in this work. At the same time they began to discover that the new provisions affecting private schools had not materially strengthened their powers. Some Authorities remained in touch with the private schools in their areas, but in general their activity rapidly declined. (6)

A discussion took place in May, 1921, between the P. S. A. I. and the Board of Education, confined to requirements for recognition and points likely to come up at inspection, which was indicative of the friendlier relations between the two sides. (7) The Board explained that they first made an enquiry as to whether the education in the school was of a sufficient standard to warrant an inspection being held. After this, certain information about the school was required, including fees and salaries, but no other financial details. The standard required was the same as for grant-earning schools, "except that, to a somewhat greater extent, strength in some directions might compensate for weakness in others." In fact, a considerable amount of liberty was allowed, and a high standard on the literary side might compensate for a deficiency in mathematics or science. The Board was tolerant to the extent that,

The curriculum need not necessarily include both mathematics and science, especially in girls' schools, and in girls' schools a laboratory was not absolutely essential.

The fact that many private schools were small was also allowed for by the Board:

Less complete provision would be expected from a school of fifty pupils than from a fully organised one of 300-400. The school, however, must provide a four years' course for pupils between the ages of twelve and sixteen to seventeen.

The level of attainment required by the Board was to be high enough to enable the senior forms to reach the standard of a First School Examination. It was not essential that the premises should have been built for a school provided that there was sufficient air space and they were sanitary, and the Board reiterated its earlier statement that no school had been rejected on account of its buildings alone.

As to equipment, nothing very elaborate was essential. Blackboards, text-books, books of reference, illustrative material, etc., were to be expected in every good school.

(6) op. cit., p. 20.

(7) Secondary Education, Nov. 1921, p. 165, "Report of Interview Between Representatives of the Board of Education and Our Association, May 1921."

The Board stated that recognition did not imply constant interference, and a school was not tied down to a certain curriculum which might not be changed without permission. Inspection cost the schools nothing and might be helpful in showing them their weak points, and, if they did not like the report they were under no obligation to adopt its recommendations or to publish it. Whilst suggesting that schools might do well to offer themselves for recognition, the Board had no wish to press their inspections on private schools.

Despite the moderate conditions, the evidence would suggest that the majority of these schools fell below the standards set by the Board. Sir Michael Sadler, Chairman of the Teachers' Registration Council, reported that they had been able to recognise only 625 out of the 1,800 private schools which applied for recognition and commented,

In England there are too many inefficient private schools; they injure the interests of the good private schools and compromise the principle of liberty. (8)

The standards required by the Teachers' Registration Council were much more modest than those of the Board.

The real difficulty with private schools was the perpetual one that they tried to do too much with their limited resources and tended to fall between two stools. The temptation for the struggling proprietor was to take all the children he could in order to keep up his income. The P. S. A. I. had insisted on certain standards on entry, but as most of its members could not attain the recognition of the Board of Education, they still lacked a public guarantee of their genuineness. The solution would have been compulsory inspection which would have been effective, but which private schools had resisted, or teachers' registration which had proved ineffective and which private schools had demanded. In the event, as no intermediate form of recognition was forthcoming, the P. S. A. I. veered towards public inspection as the only way of preserving its good name.

Although the P. S. A. I. had some measure of control over who it admitted to membership of the Association, it had no control over the thousands of private schools that existed outside the Association. The P. S. A. I. thought that whilst inefficient schools existed, the Board of Education and the public would be prejudiced against private schools in general. The standard of education in the schools of some of its members may not have been very high, but these schools were at least respectable by comparison with some private schools. Conditions, in fact, in many private schools were scandalous and from time to time would become known and bring independent schools as a whole into disrepute. Whilst there was no public system of inspection, private schools had no guarantee for the public and no redress against the general accusations made about their schools. The worst of the notorious schools were generally those set up as a substitute for public elementary schools, but there were bad schools of every type.

The extent to which L. E. A. 's could interfere with private schools was very limited indeed and extended only to the enforcement of attendance for elementary education. The

(8) Secondary Education, Aug. 1921, pp. 118-119, "Private Schools and the Public", Address by Sir Michael Sadler, July 11, 1921 at Ashville College, Harrogate. By 1935, 707 private schools had been accepted out of 1,922.

Education Bill, 1918, originally contained a clause which would have enabled L. E. A. 's to determine whether or not a school was efficient for the purposes of elementary education, but it encountered strong opposition in the House of Commons and had to be replaced. (9) The main objection to the clause was that it would have transferred from the courts to a L. E. A. responsibility for determining whether or not the education received by a child was efficient and it was urged that the right of a parent to be tried in a court of law should be retained. (10) H. A. L. Fisher, in defending his Clause, recognised that there were many good private schools, but pointed out,

On the other hand there are a very large number of private schools which are frauds, and gross frauds. I do not think the House or the country realise how very serious this evil is and what a grave menace it is to the educational progress and prosperity of the country. Let me give the Committee an instance. There was a school in a county borough in the Midlands which came before the notice of the Board last year.

Fisher described the school as having 72 children between 11 and 14 years supposed to be in six classes with one unqualified teacher. The school had two rooms, one 15 feet x 10 feet x 10 feet, the other 10 feet x 10 feet and no desks, lavatory or playground. The children did not have writing paper, but worked on broken slates and copied words wrongly spelled from the blackboard. The teacher was often late, and on one occasion only spent 33 minutes at the school during the whole day. Fisher continued,

That was declared to be efficient by the magistrate. He refused to convict. This is not by any means an isolated case. (11)

He said that there was no real risk of endangering the educational variety of the country and he was prepared to consider establishing a panel of independent members not connected with the public system of education to decide the question of efficiency in each case.

The clause substituted removed the defence that a child was receiving efficient instruction at a school, unless the school was open to inspection by the L. E. A. or Board

(9) The original clause read, "The question whether a child, who is not attending a school recognised by the Board of Education as efficient, is under efficient instruction within the meaning of the Education Acts, or any by-laws relating to school attendance made thereunder, shall be determined by the local education authority, or, in the case of a child attending a school or educational institution which the Board of Education or the local education authority are enabled to inspect, if the parent of the child so desires, by the Board of Education, and any such determination shall be final and conclusive."

(10) The discussion of this issue is reported in Hansard (Fifth Series), Vol. 106, Cols. 921-937 and 1005-1023.

(11) *Ibid.*, Cols. 933-936.

of Education and kept attendance registers. The result was that a L. E. A. had no right of entry to private schools or powers to inspect compulsorily. If an Authority knew a school to be thoroughly bad, it could bring an action against a parent on the grounds that his child was not receiving efficient instruction, and the efficiency of the school was determined by the magistrate. But the Authority had no power to close a school, though it could bring pressure to bear upon it as will be discussed later.

It was common practice for parents who were dissatisfied with elementary schools, sometimes because the school enforced attendance when they wanted to keep their children at home, to send their children to private schools of the poorest sort. Many of these schools were no more than "dame schools" where the children were minded by the proprietor with little pretence of education. This problem had existed since the passing of the Education Act, 1870, and had troubled educational bodies, without a solution being found.

Public Interest in Inefficient Schools

The two associations most concerned to see the inspection of private schools and the elimination of the inefficient were the Association of Superintendents of School Attendance Departments and the Headmistresses' Association. The interest of the school attendance officers in the question was obvious, but the headmistresses were concerned with the problem because more girls suffered in inefficient private schools than did boys. The Headmistresses' Association raised the question as early as 1915, when Miss Major of King Edward's School, Birmingham, proposed two resolutions at the Annual Conference of the Association at Walthamstow.⁽¹²⁾ At the conference of school attendance officers, held at Nottingham on 26th May, 1920, a resolution was carried urging that proprietors of private schools should be compelled to furnish returns of children's attendances.⁽¹³⁾

The Headmistresses' Association returned to the question in 1923 at their meeting at Newnham College, but the whole problem of private school inspection was discussed on all sides following a paper read to the Annual Conference of Superintendents of School Attendance Departments in May 1928 by J. R. Proctor, Organiser of Children's Care, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.⁽¹⁴⁾

Proctor's paper received wide publicity and shocked the educational associations into demanding action. He began by stating that anyone could start a private school and that the L. E. A. had no power to inspect unless it was invited. In practice, he alleged, the Board of Education took the view that the private school was not the concern of the L. E. A. and that there was very little liaison between the two in the matter. Proctor continued by describing in some detail a bad case from his area which became widely publicised. The school was held in the front room, 10 feet square, of a four-roomed

(12) Secondary Education, July 1915, pp. 71-73.

(13) Secondary Education, July 1920, p. 126.

(14) This paper appeared in three parts in The School Government Chronicle, September 8, 1928, pp. 131-132, September 15, pp. 149-150 and September 22, pp. 173-174. A summary of the paper also appeared in Education, October 12, 1928, pp. 322-323.

house in a narrow street. The room was used by the teacher and seven pupils and was full of furniture, including a piano, sideboard, a small settee, two deal chairs, a stool, a table, a built-in cupboard, ornaments, vases and pictures. The children worked at the table; a five-year old sat on the piano stool which was too high for him so that he sat with his legs dangling, two more sat on the chairs, two perched on piles of papers placed on the settee and the remaining two stood, though the inspector was told that they had a turn on the chairs. The time-table showed French, games and music and the total equipment of the school comprised one out-of-date arithmetic book under the settee and four specimen copies of old readers. Loose sheets were torn from an exercise book for work. Games were held in the back yard, which also held the only lavatory, and the children stood around the piano for music. Five of the seven children had recently attended public elementary schools, but had left with a grievance. The fees of the school were 1/6d. per week or 2/6d. for two from the same family. The staff in private schools, generally, were poor, Proctor maintained, very often one person with no qualifications, and the schools were so poor that they could not afford to pay for staff and equipment. In the case he cited, the total income of the school, assuming all the pupils to come from different families, would have been 10/6d. per week.

Proctor next examined the types of children attending private schools which he divided into three groups. The first group comprised the delicate children whose parents thought that their children would be better cared for in private schools, but ignorant of the insanitary and unhygienic conditions which existed in many of these schools. The second group were the indulged, the spoilt and the only child. These children, Proctor thought, were the very ones who ought not to attend private schools as the proprietor could not instil any discipline in case the parents should take offence and withdraw the child with the consequent loss of revenue. Children of this type, he felt, needed to live in a mixed community where they would be freed from the influences of a too-fond parent. The third of Proctor's groups was the child of "shabby gentility or social snobbery." These children, he thought, if brought up in private schools would be ill-equipped to meet the needs and demands of a democratic age.

Proctor asserted that private schools of this type were a danger in many ways. They tended to screen the mentally or physically defective child from the school medical service where they might otherwise receive treatment. Frequently, children were admitted to private schools in order to evade the school attendance by-laws, and,

..... a transfer from a public elementary school to a private school is often the sequel to a dispute between the parent and the head teacher of the public elementary school.

He concluded that the need was to give L. E. A. 's the power to satisfy themselves as to the educational well-being of the children.

Proctor's paper had the effect of starting a movement for some form of inspection of private schools and for some way of eliminating the inefficient. The movement was not a general attack on private schools, but a desire to get rid of the abuses in the existing system. The P. S. A. I. did not object to the increased interest of L. E. A. 's in private schools, but was apprehensive in case, in their zeal, authorities would demand wide-spread powers to control them. As early as 1925, the P. S. A. I. approached the Board of Education asking it to take action.

The demand for inspection was intensified following a tragic case at a school at Bickley, Kent, in the autumn of 1930. The principal of Merevale High School, Bickley, was found guilty of neglecting six children "in a manner likely to cause them unnecessary suffering or injury to their health" and was sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment. She did not call in a doctor in the early stages of measles and ringworm because she did not consider the cases serious and she did not notify the parents for fear of worrying them. It was said in her defence that she had got into financial difficulties because parents did not pay the fees and it was a temptation for her to treat the cases herself. As a result one child died. Despite the recommendation of the Recorder that inspection should be considered, the Board of Education seemed extremely reluctant to act.

Setting up of Departmental Committees

The Board of Education at last moved in October, 1930, when a Departmental Committee was set up to consider the question of the inspection of private schools. The Departmental Committee went to great lengths to ensure that it consulted all existing educational associations, and, in its report, it was at great pains to see that all interests were fairly reported. The Report represented a collection of all the known facts and opinions about private schools.

The Report estimated that there were, in 1932, approximately 10,000 private schools containing 400,000 pupils of all ages.⁽¹⁵⁾ These figures were only estimates because although the Board of Education required schools to submit information about themselves on Form 451G, this form was required to be returned once only and there was no way of determining whether or not the circumstances had changed since the form was submitted. Of these schools only a very small proportion had been inspected. The Board's List of Recognised Secondary and Preparatory schools contained only 611 independent schools, many of which would have been regarded as "Public Schools." Less than twenty schools had been inspected and recognised for the purposes of the scheme under the Teachers (Superannuation) Act, 1925, and about 450 schools had been informally inspected in order to assist the Special Grants Committee of the Ministry of Pensions and the United Services Fund. These inspections were infrequent and not repeated. This meant that about 1,300 private schools had been inspected by the Board of Education for various purposes, though only about 600 were under periodical inspection. About 2,500 schools had been placed open to inspection by L. E. A.'s under Section 147 of the 1921 Act, but little over 1,000 had actually been inspected and very few had been re-inspected. Without making any allowances for double counting, i.e. a school inspected more than once for different purposes, public authorities had direct knowledge of, at most, 2,300 private schools out of the estimated total of 10,000. The Committee were obliged to collect information from as many sources as possible in order to discover something of the nature of the unknown schools.

Evidence Given to the Committee

In giving a general description of the evidence submitted, the Report stated,

-
- (15) Private Schools and Other Schools not in Receipt of Grants from Public Funds, Report of the Departmental Committee, H.M.S.O., 1932, 27-228, p. 15.

All our witnesses agree that a large number of private schools are conducted efficiently in suitable premises, and make a suitable contribution to the national provision for education, but we have also received much evidence that in others the conditions are unsatisfactory. This evidence is mainly drawn from the statements of our witnesses. We have derived some assistance, however, from examining nearly 200 reports on individual schools. (16)

The evidence given by L. E. A. 's and their officers was unanimous in asking for more power to deal with inefficient private schools. The County Councils Association thought that inspection would not only get rid of the schools that ought not to be tolerated, but that it would also raise the standing of private schools if the public could be sure that they were required to be efficient and well conducted. The Association of Directors and Secretaries for Education, whilst agreeing with these views, gave examples of bad schools:

We have heard of children housed in single basement rooms, and even in one case of a school conducted round the bedside of a bedridden teacher. In another, the sole teacher was over 80 years of age; and in others, while not entirely without educational qualifications, teachers had long ceased to retain the vitality or cheerfulness necessary for dealing with young children. (17)

The Association concluded that for the sake of national needs and justice to individual children, some method should be devised which would secure reasonable standards, "without interfering with the individuality of the better schools." The National Association of Inspectors of Schools and Educational Organisers estimated that 15 per cent of all independent schools were a "public danger" and that another 30 per cent were "well below the standard of the public elementary schools." (18)

The Froebel Society emphasised the unsatisfactory conditions for pupils and staff in some private boarding schools, amounting in some cases to neglect and even serious cruelty:

They explained that this information was received in confidence and that even where prosecution for cruelty or neglect might be justified the teachers were unwilling to come forward as witnesses because they would lose all chance of gaining further employment. (19)

(16) Ibid., p. 22.

(17) Ibid., pp. 25-26.

(18) Ibid., p. 27.

(19) Ibid., p. 32.

Teachers' organisations also gave evidence of the existence of unsatisfactory private schools. The memorandum submitted by the National Union of Teachers was based, in part, on a survey of private schools made by its members. The Union concentrated its evidence on the weak private school rather than on the worst type. The memorandum discussed the reasons why parents sent their children to private schools.⁽²⁰⁾ Less wealthy parents preferred private schools whose educational advantages were not so obvious because of a dislike for state-aided schools:

The most common objection to the state-aided school is that by its very nature it must be open to all classes of the community. The private school, on the other hand, is confined to the children of those who can afford to pay fees. This is thought to supply a guarantee that the pupils will come from better class homes, that their manners will be good, and that they will express themselves in accurate English. These schools are used, in fact, so that children may avoid contact with and possible contamination by poverty, and the more obvious consequences of poverty. It is impossible not to sympathise with parents who apprehend this danger and wish to safeguard against it . . . it may lead parents to patronise establishments which are hygienically imperfect and educationally defective, and which in no sense guarantee good manners or good behaviour in the pupils.⁽²¹⁾

N. U. T. Enquiry

The questionnaires on which much of the N. U. T. memorandum was based reveal some extraordinary cases. Many questionnaires speak of the backwardness of pupils admitted to elementary schools from junior private schools, one school which frequently admitted pupils from private schools saying that "nearly always they have to be put in the Special Class for M.D. and very backward children."⁽²²⁾ Some schools even resorted to subterfuge to hide their own inefficiency from the parents, as is illustrated by the following report:

A girl delighted her parents with exercises filled with sums well set out and invariably correct. She came at the age of eleven to my Higher Elementary School, when I found she could not work the simplest sums of any kind. I saw her father, and we found that all these beautiful and difficult sums were copied from the blackboard, then marked correct and awarded marks; they were taken home and the parents were entirely misled.

(20) National Union of Teachers, Memorandum of Evidence Submitted by the Executive of the Union to the Departmental Committee on Private Schools, June 1931 (cyclostyld).

(21) *Ibid.*, p. 3.

(22) This and the following examples are taken from the actual questionnaires returned, kindly made available by the National Union of Teachers.

Many of the questionnaires give examples of pupils being removed from elementary schools because of the insistence on attendance. When this was the case, the private school to which the children would be removed would generally be no more than a dame's school. One striking example of this came from Shropshire:

Prof. -----'s Private Academy (known as the Cosmic College). Contains 4 pupils ages 7, 8, 10 and 11. Every one of these is a case where parents have objected to interference on the part of the L. E. A. e. g. Attendance Officer visits a parent about irregular attendance at an ordinary elementary school - result Prof. -----'s and no interference! School is held in disused chapel - no playground or playing field. Prof. doesn't bother whether they attend or not so long as they pay the fees. No one knows why he calls himself Professor. he is about 60-65 years of age and has no-one else on the staff."

An individual report on the school gave the fees as four guineas per annum and described the school building as a corrugated iron shed, it added,

Occasionally decent parents send their children but it isn't long before they find the school is a fraud and take them away.

Many of the smaller schools described in the questionnaires were held in ordinary dwelling houses and were run by unqualified teachers. A report from Sussex spoke of schools being conducted in small cottages, in one of which the sole teacher was nearly 90 years of age and where the children sat on backless forms holding slates. The number of pupils in these schools ranged from four to twenty and the teachers had no qualifications, four of them, in fact, combining "all a housewife's work with their morning teaching." The report continued:

In spite of the fact that the Council School children are of a very good type, many small tradesmen send children to these private schools.

Another report from Bristol read:

The pupils attending the private schools in this district are generally the children of the rather more highly-paid artisan or clerk-ship class. By paying a small school fee they hope to get better social environment, as well as extra educational facilities for their children. When they realize the latter hope meets with disappointment, many of the children are sent on to our Council School. These children are very difficult to place in our school by reason of their backwardness for their age.

In addition to the schools catering for younger children, there was also a well defined type of secondary private school found in urban areas. Some secondary schools were above reproach, but, the N.U.T. Memorandum reported, there were others,

..... staffed partly by experienced teachers, but largely by young graduates or others of lesser academic qualifications, intermediate degrees and so on, who wish to obtain experience in teaching. The main requirement in the staff is that reasonable discipline shall be preserved and certain examination results shall be obtained. These schools are still addicted to the practice of entering pupils for annual external examinations, not merely as a measure of their progress, but in order that lengthy lists of successes may appear on the prospectus. In other respects the claims made in the prospectus may be somewhat extravagant, as we might occasionally expect from a school which depends for its continuance on the number of its pupils and the fees they pay. It is rare that these schools are certified to be efficient. The salaries of the staff may be lower than in recognised secondary schools and the general conditions of employment including the security of tenure of the staff may be deplorable. There can be no doubt that the main factor which secures the permanence of these institutions is the unwillingness of some parents to send their children to schools which receive free place pupils, but in recent years the growing prestige of the recognised schools has done something to break down this arbitrary and unfortunate social barrier.

The existence of these schools, the N.U.T. thought, tended to prevent the L.E.A. from seeing in their true proportions the secondary school requirements for the area as a whole. The evidence of the Head Mistresses Association confirmed that of the N.U.T. and recommended the compulsory inspection of all schools.

Conclusions of Departmental Committee

On the basis of the evidence it had received, the Committee concluded that there was no room for doubt that extremely unsatisfactory private schools existed, and that the poor schools were not restricted to any one area. In addition to the bad schools, the Committee recognised the existence of many weak and inefficient private schools. These schools, it thought, though they suffered from poor accommodation and equipment, were more seriously handicapped by incompetent staff:

Low fees often make it necessary to dilute the staff with immature and inexperienced teachers who barely know the rudiments of what they have to teach. As they grow older these teachers become a further source of weakness. They claim to be experienced but few of them ever have a chance of learning the methods and curriculum of a good school. The parents as a rule do not press for greater efficiency; it is not easy for them to discover that a school is weak; they usually enter the educational market as inexpert and often rather bewildered buyers, guided by vague recollections of their own schooling. (23)

(23) Departmental Committee Report, 1932, op. cit., p. 39.

The Committee stated very clearly that there were many excellent private schools and that the majority were above serious reproach, but there were some that were positively harmful, and,

We consider that these defects of the private school system call for remedy through some measure of public supervision.

Before putting forward its proposals for a scheme of public supervision, the Committee examined the ways in which the existing powers were inadequate. The difficulty in ensuring that a child was receiving efficient education was that the school could not be prosecuted, but legal proceedings had to be taken against the parent for failing to cause his child to receive adequate instruction. A further difficulty was that the efficiency of the instruction was determined not by an educational body but by a magistrate. In practice the magistrates considered whether the child was receiving instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic and all the witnesses having experience of this agreed that it was extremely difficult to prosecute a parent successfully on this ground. The main difficulty to securing a conviction against a parent was that it was almost impossible to test a child's knowledge in Court. The Committee explained:

Magistrates, bearing in mind that adult and intelligent witnesses frequently break down in the witness box, are unwilling to attribute a child's inability to answer the questions put to him to lack of education. The onus of proof of lack of knowledge is on the prosecution, and it is nearly impossible to put questions, the failure to answer which cannot be as easily attributed to nervousness as to lack of knowledge.

The Departmental Committee, convinced that bad private schools existed and that the existing powers were inadequate for dealing with the problem, turned next to consider how the question could be tackled. The Committee felt that physical conditions and education could not be separated from the point of view of inspection and thought that schools should be judged as a whole. A black list of bad schools, the Committee thought, would be ineffective and therefore favoured the power of closure. It was also thought that the legal responsibility for efficiency of the instruction received should be transferred from the parent to the proprietor of the school. But, in order to ensure the freedom of a school to determine its own curriculum it was suggested that the determination of the efficiency of the instruction should be limited to reading, writing and arithmetic. On the same grounds, the Committee thought that it could not insist on teachers possessing particular qualifications without limiting the freedom to teach. It was also recommended that a school could choose whether it would be inspected by the L. E. A. or the Board of Education. On the question of whether the failure of a school to meet minimum requirements as to premises and instruction should be determined by administrative rather than legal procedure, the Committee took a more conservative view than most of the witnesses. Most witnesses, including those from private schools, thought that the courts were not able to judge educational matters and that they should only have the duty of compelling schools to comply with decisions reached by public authorities. Whilst recognising the force of this argument, the Committee felt that

..... the decision of a question which may deprive a person of his livelihood and affect his personal reputation

cannot justifiably be removed from the purview of Courts of Law. In a matter of this importance a proprietor should have the full protection of the ordinary system of justice and should not be subjected to the decisions of a public authority acting both as judge and prosecutor.

In fact, the strongest opposition to administrative determination of efficiency rather than legal came from the representatives of the Board of Education.

Main Recommendation

The Committee's recommendations proposed enforcing minimum standards by a system of compulsory inspection. It proposed that all private schools should be liable to inspection which should be periodical, though no fixed interval should be prescribed. In general, it was hoped that the ordinary inspectorate of the Board of Education or of L.E.A.'s would be used, though exceptional measures could be taken to release extra staff to cope with the pressure of the initial work. The Committee estimated that the total cost of such a scheme would amount to £30,000 a year.

Throughout their Report the Committee had been at pains to ensure that freedom and individuality should not suffer from the controls they recommended. The Committee was concerned only with checking the worst abuses and realised that their modest proposals could still enable many schools of the weaker type to exist. In their conclusion the Committee reaffirmed their intention to preserve freedom:

We may conclude by pointing out that under our recommendations schools which are beyond reproach so far as the requirements of the Statute and the regulations are concerned, will not be subject to any administrative interference. It is true that proprietors will be required to notify closures and removals, and each year to supply some essential particulars, but this is a task which should not occupy more than a few minutes. In all important respects they will be free - free to vary their curriculum, change their methods and their organisation, increase their numbers, extend their age range, alter their premises, and employ what teachers they like without seeking the sanction of any public authority. (24)

Modest as their proposals were, the Departmental Committee did not envisage their immediate implementation because of the economic depression.

The I.S.A.I. (25) claimed that the Report was a clear vindication of private schools. It welcomed the fact that the Report ensured that private schools would retain

(24) Ibid., p. 84.

(25) The P.S.A.I. changed its name to the Independent Schools Association Incorporated (I.S.A.I.) in June, 1927, and the name of its journal from Secondary Education to The Independent School in March, 1929.

their freedom and that their work was recognised as part of the national system. The Committee, it was claimed, had made recommendations that the I.S.A.I. had long advocated:

These proposals, in the main, have met with the general approval not only of educational officials and of the press, but of the principals of private schools themselves. Indeed, apart from those diehards who would 'scrap the lot,' the proposals have been received with marked unanimity. (26)

The I.S.A.I. noted that coercive action only represented a small part of the recommendations and that the general tenor of the report was persuasion.

Failure of Government to Implement Recommendations

There seemed little hope that even the moderate proposals of the Departmental Committee would be hurriedly put into effect. The Foreward to the Report gave to the government the excuse of economic difficulties for not implementing the proposals. From time to time a private-school scandal would arise which would bring forth the demand for the recommendations of the Departmental Committee to be implemented. A few months after the publication of the Report the principal of a private boarding school at Surbiton was fined £10 with 5 guineas costs as the result of an action brought at the instigation of the N.S.P.C.C. The school charged fees of £12 per term and contained children between the ages of 4 and 10. Five of the children were verminous with sores on their heads, the principal said that she put ointment on them, and,

Two other children were upstairs ill in bed, feverish and with severe colds. They were without sheets, covered with one threadbare blanket and receiving no medical attention. (27)

Commenting on this case a leading article in The Times Educational Supplement said that there had been no action to deal with private schools by the government, no doubt because of existing economic conditions, but the Board of Education could reduce for a short period the general inspection of schools and increase the number of preliminary visits to private schools. (28) A year later The Times Educational Supplement returned to the question, writing that it was over two years since the Departmental Committee had reported, and although not all private schools were inefficient,

It is well known that we have a great and ever fluctuating number of small and inefficient schools conducted by men and women who have no educational qualifications nor any capital to provide suitable buildings and equipment. These mushroom schools are often carried on in small suburban

(26) The Independent School, July, 1932, pp. 36-38, "A Most Valuable Report."

(27) The Schoolmaster, February 16, 1933, p. 241.

(28) The Times Educational Supplement, February 18, 1933, p. 53.

villas and attended by children whose parents cannot afford to pay heavy school fees but desire the social prestige which they associate with a private school of any kind as compared with the public elementary school. (29)

Two years after the Report the government showed no interest in the private school question. On June 11, 1934, a question to the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, H. Ramsbotham, from Ernest Evans asked whether he proposed to introduce legislation in the near future or if an early statement would be made. Ramsbotham replied that there was no question of proceeding in the near future with legislation and, "There are more important matters for the Government to consider." (30) Similar replies were given in 1935 and 1936. A few months later a seven year old boy died at a private school at Hawkhurst, Kent. The schoolmasters brought an action for slander at Sussex Assizes against the parents who had alleged negligence on the part of the school. The jury entered judgement for the parents and in his summing up the Lord Chief Justice (Lord Hewart) said that if a doctor had been called earlier, the boy's life might have been saved. He said that it would be a happy day when the law required a trained nurse in every school with small children. Commenting on this case, Education said that the Board of Education must take action at once. (31)

Relations with Official Bodies

The trend on the part of the I.S.A.I. to be more aware of the public responsibilities of private schools was accompanied by improved relations with the Board of Education. The P.S.A.I. claimed in 1926 that it saw signs of the Board becoming more liberal in its outlook and it attributed this to the influence of the President of the Board, Lord Eustace Percy, who took office in 1925. (32) Certainly, there was a new freedom in the Board which unburdened itself of much detailed control of education and took on a much more advisory role. This change was brought about by the reorganisation of the Board in 1922, following the 1921 Education Act, by the new Regulations of 1926 which left much to the discretion of L. E. A.'s and by the reorganisation of the inspectorate in 1926 freeing inspectors to a large extent from the detailed inspection of individual schools. (33) The attitude of Lord Eustace Percy to private schools was extremely friendly. In 1926 private teachers were included, on a voluntary basis, in the government superannuation scheme. Percy was prepared to accept private schools as having a proper place in a national system of education which would have extended to making grants from public funds. The relations between the I.S.A.I. and L. E. A.'s improved on the whole between the World Wars. The I.S.A.I. had come to accept the existence of rate-aided secondary schools as inevitable and concentrated on establishing a modus vivendi. Relations varied from one authority to another, in some cases there was a constant series of pin pricks, but generally there were no head-on clashes.

(29) The Times Educational Supplement, June 30, 1934, p. 217.

(30) Hansard (Fifth Series), Vol. 290, 11 June 1934, Cols. 1352-1353.

(31) Education, March 29, 1935, p. 366.

(32) Secondary Education, July 1926, pp. 36-37, "the Future Policy of the Board", leading article.

(33) John Leese: Personalities and Power in English Education, London, 1950.

The position with regard to L. E. A. grants to private schools was very much the same as it was at the time of the Teachers' Guild survey in 1910-11. The Chairman of Council, S. Maxwell, carried out a survey of aid given to private schools in 1927 and he reported to Council on 5th January, 1928:

The Chairman continued that they would be interested to know he had sent a questionnaire to the 312 Local Education Authorities into which the country was divided. . . . From the 274 replies which he had received he had learnt that 273 of the authorities did not give financial aid to private schools, but that one did so. 117 authorities permitted competition from pupils in private and independent schools for their scholarships, while 155 authorities did not even allow competition from pupils outside the elementary schools. Only twenty-six authorities permitted pupils who had won scholarships from private schools to continue to receive their education in those schools under certain conditions. (34)

It has already been explained how the 1918 Education Act should have brought private schools and L. E. A. 's closer together, but because of the economic depression and structural weaknesses in the framing of the Act most L. E. A. 's had been content to ignore the private schools in their area. Some authorities like London and Bristol attempted to survey the private schools in their area and to put pressure on the inefficient to secure their closure. The P. S. A. I. praised the efforts of the Bristol Education Committee to close inefficient private schools. The Bristol Committee surveyed the private schools in the area and wrote to the inefficient asking them what they intended to do to make themselves efficient and that they would be kept under observation. In its Annual Report in 1921, the Bristol Education Committee stated that there were 97 private schools in the city. Of these, 85 elected to be inspected by the L. E. A., 10 by the Board of Education and 2 were not inspected. 50 were found quite efficient, that is at least as efficient as the aided schools in the city, 29 were found to be efficient but requiring attention and improvements were suggested to the heads, and 6 were declared inefficient and in need of drastic alterations. The ages of the children in these schools ranged from 2½ to 16 and there were 5,167 children in them of whom 1,121 were aged 14 and over. The Director of Education for Bristol, Mr. Ludford Freeman, later said that three of these schools had been obliged to close and that one school had, ". . . . one teacher with no qualifications whatsoever, except the possession of a spare room." (35)

-
- (34) Secondary Education, March 1928, pp. 3-9.
Secondary Education, Dec. 1920, p. 206, reported, "Grants to the value of £4,000 have been made to certain private schools in Glasgow. The North Riding Yorkshire County Council Education Committee have granted a scholarship in a private school in East Croydon - namely, Croydon High School for Boys."
- (35) Secondary Education, Nov. 1924, pp. 56-58, "The Place of Private Schools", paper by Mr. Ludford Freeman to P. S. A. I.

Demand for State Aid for School Fees

The straitened economic circumstances of the middle classes in the inter-war years, as seen by some supporters of private schools, led them to seek ways in which parents with children at fee-paying schools could be relieved to some extent of the cost. It was often argued that parents who sent their children to private schools also paid rates and taxes and did not use the educational facilities provided by the state. To this extent they paid twice for their children's education and also saved the state the cost of providing for their children's schooling. It was argued, because of this, that such parents should be entitled to some rebate from the state. One such scheme was put forward by Frank Roscoe, Secretary of the Royal Society of Teachers. (36)

Roscoe argued that private schools were a part of the national system of education, although some were not recognised as part of the state system. Private schools, he thought, ought to be recognised because the Board of Education had a duty to see that they were efficient. Anyone could open a private school and harm the children attending. The community, he argued, has an interest in securing the instruction of its future citizens and should contribute to the cost. Aid should not be withheld from parents who were honestly trying to provide for the education of their children, Roscoe maintained, even though they did not choose to make full use of the state machinery.

I suggest that instead of the present plan of distributing grants we might extend the principle of income tax rebate and give to every parent an education warrant of a value equal to the minimum cost of educating a child in the manner desired by the State.

Roscoe explained that the warrant could be exchanged for state-aided education or could be used to offset part of the fees of any school he chose for his children. Roscoe gave detailed figures for his scheme, but the principle was that from the total cost of elementary education the average cost per child would be calculated to establish the value of the warrant for that year. This would ensure that those who used the state system and those who used the private system would both receive the same amount of aid from the state. All would receive a voucher that could be used at any efficient school.

At the A.G.M. of the I.S.A.I. in January, 1928, S. Maxwell, Chairman of Council, reviewed Roscoe's scheme:

When he said that such was a revolutionary proposal he did not mean it was entirely new, for years ago it had been very nearly adopted by the Conservative Party as their official educational policy when that party was under the leadership of the great Lord Salisbury There were very many people who would like to send their children to private schools if they could afford to do so, and if such a policy became law it would be a very great advantage to all private schools.

(36) Supplement to The Independent School, March 1929, pp. 1-4, "Educational Grants for Parents", summary of an address given by Mr. Frank Roscoe, M.A., at open meeting of I.S.A.I., Jan. 2, 1929.

They would remember that just after the War how full all private schools were, and he thought that the reason for that was perfectly obvious. Surely it was because more people had money to spend on education than ever they had had before, and one of the results was that private schools were full to overflowing. If the financial burden could be raised from such people they would be reproducing very much what had happened in the boom years. (37)

Two years later, under a Labour government, Maxwell was not so sanguine, he thought that Roscoe's policy would be the solution, but that at that moment it was not "practical politics." (38)

In 1929, Sir R. Thomas had asked a question in the House of Commons whether parents not wishing to send their children to public elementary schools could receive an education grant "to send the child on it to any school of an approved standard that they choose." (39) Lord Eustace Percy replied,

Suggestions of this kind have been made on various occasions but, in the form in which the Hon. Member now puts it forward, it would apparently involve the conversion of all grants in aid to elementary education into capitation grants. It may be worth while to point out that parents who pay Income Tax already receive from the Exchequer a relief which is approximately equal to the cost of elementary education in respect of each child.

Private Schools and Class Distinctions

There was no doubt that private schools existed to a large extent because of the social distinctions in the country. The values that private schools held in support of their emerging ethos of independence were all acceptable to the middle classes. Private schools made great play of their refinement and of the emphasis laid in their teaching on good manners and a high moral tone. One interesting sidelight on the subject was the objection to free-placers given by Rupert Deakin, a L. E. A. headmaster, who argued that for private schools to take them would be suicidal, as 25 per cent. free placers would work out at 40 to 50 per cent. of the whole school "because such scholars usually remain at school much longer than fee-paying pupils." (40) The removal of class distinctions, he continued, would be a good thing if it raised "the standard of life among the lower elements of society", but,

(37) Secondary Education, March 1928, pp. 3-9.

(38) The Independent School, Dec. 1930, pp. 53-56.

(39) Hansard (Fifth Series), Vol. 225, 28 Feb. 1929, Col. 2166.

(40) Secondary Education, Sept. 1921, pp. 136-142, "An Address Delivered to the Members of the Private Schools Association at Tonbridge Wells in July 1921," by Rupert Deakin, M.A.

So long as the free scholars in a secondary school were few in number and came from all kinds of schools they were elevated in manners and conduct; but under the present regulations the opposite is taking place. And not only the pupils but a large number of the teachers in public secondary schools are trained or untrained elementary pupils, and they are introducing their manners and modes of thought and life into the secondary schools. In such circumstances it is excusable and even praiseworthy for parents to seek a more refined environment for their children.

A member of the P. S. A. I. wrote that there was a lack of public spirit in the state schools which did not train good citizens, and continued,

Why do parents bring their children to us when they could get just as good teaching much cheaper in a Government secondary school? The answer is always much the same: 'No one looks after their manners and morals; there seems to be no interest in them as individuals.' (41)

A Vice-Chairman of the Association, R. H. Hume, said later that

..... the more free places the Government gave in secondary schools the more the private schools were going to be endowed - not with money, but certainly with pupils A man was not a snob if he tried to protect his child from the contamination which he was bound to get from a very large number of the people who passed through the elementary schools. (42)

G. P. Dymond, principal of the Hoe Grammar School, Plymouth, claimed that,

Private schools are, to a large extent, the outcome of the desire of parents to secure for their children an adequate training without exposing them to the rougher contacts which are bound to take place in the more congested schools. (43)

On another occasion he noted the tendency for this snobbery to work in reverse, as, he said, the municipally-aided schools,

(41) Secondary Education, Nov. 1921, pp. 166-168, "A Few Observations and Ideas on the Subject of Education" by L. G. W. Wilkinson (Tynemouth School).

(42) Secondary Education, Nov. 1924, pp. 53-56.

(43) The Independent School, July, 1938, p. 30, "Pioneers in Education".

..... have copied every advantage they have noted in the independent schools, such as school caps, ties, and uniform, school societies, and the house system which in large measure had been previously adopted from the great Public Schools. (44)

Private schools in claiming their unique position in British education stressed the care they took in building character and in instilling into the pupil sound religious and patriotic feelings. A great deal of emphasis was laid on the idea of Empire and loyalty to the idea. A leading article in *The Independent School* in December 1937 suggested that the formation of a School Empire Union under the aegis of the I.S.A.I. should be discussed at the next A.G.M., but added,

It has to be stated with regret that even among teachers the claims of pleasure surpass response to the call to inculcate and to practise the highest duties of religion and patriotism - that is patriotism in its highest and best sense.

Change in Outlook of I.S.A.I.

Between the wars the I.S.A.I. ceased to associate itself directly with defensive middle class organisations and tried to take part in the activities of public bodies with less sectional interests. In the years immediately following 1918 when private-school teachers felt themselves in an insecure position the I.S.A.I. co-operated with the Rate-payers' Association and the Middle Classes Union, but these contacts became less frequent. As private-school teachers came to recognise that a permanent national system of education administered by L.E.A.'s had been established, so they realised that they should attempt to create a place for themselves alongside that system. Although criticisms were heard that L.E.A.'s were extravagant and that "Faddists are abroad in the land," the I.S.A.I. tried to establish and maintain friendly relations with the Board of Education and with L.E.A.'s. As private schools became more aware of themselves having a *raison d'être* in the concept of independence so they wished to demonstrate this awareness by participating in the activities of educational institutions. The Association, too, tried to broaden its membership. It began to admit not only schools in private ownership but all schools independent of the state.

As most of its members were not recognised as efficient by the Board of Education, the I.S.A.I. decided to institute its own scheme of advisory inspection with the co-operation of the College of Preceptors. A joint committee of the two bodies considered the plan and drew up a scheme of inspection which would be carried out by inspectors in sympathy with independent schools. The arrangements for the scheme were completed in 1939 and the I.S.A.I. advised its members to take advantage of it.

Summary

By the outbreak of the Second World War private schools felt confident that they had

-
- (44) *The Independent School*, Dec. 1938, p. 55, "The Contribution of Private Schools to National Education and How to make it Effective", paper read by G.P. Dymond at Autumn Conference of I.S.A.I. Sept. 7, 1938.

achieved an established position. Private schools had suffered, like other sections of the community, from the years of depression, but they no longer feared an antagonistic government would legislate them out of existence. The I.S.A.I. had, through the inspection of new members, eliminated the weakest schools and although its schools in the majority might not come up to the standard demanded by the Board of Education for official recognition, they were at least reasonable. The Report of the Departmental Committee had exonerated the majority of private schools and had shown that the really bad schools were a small minority. Though it had advocated the inspection of all schools it had made it perfectly plain that none but the worst would have anything to fear and that the curriculum of the school would be left entirely to the discretion of the principal. Private schools in the I.S.A.I. became increasingly aware that the word that united them was their independence rather than the fact of private ownership. This awareness of independence gradually emerged as a set of principles that most schools adhered to. This ethos took the form of insisting on individual attention, emphasis on the training of character and moral conduct, the teaching of good middle-class manners, refined speech, a patriotic outlook, the teaching of religion and the acceptance of middle-class virtues. Private schools drew their pupils largely from the urban middle classes. They provided an education for children whose parents desired a gentler education than that of the public elementary schools, or, for several reasons, were a substitute for the state-aided secondary schools. Many catered for parents who could not afford to send their children to public schools but who refused to accept the rate-aided schools. The idea still persisted that to pay fees was to secure a better education, at least in social terms, for one's child and that schools open to all were somehow degrading. The schools provided the education that was wanted. The schools often did not attain a high academic standard because business did not insist on a high standard of education for entry to employment and consequently encouraged early leaving. Private schools were still considered by many middle-class parents as genteel places for the education of girls and schools flourished in most of the salubrious seaside towns. They were also used by parents who wished to shelter delicate children from rough influences or who had backward children needing special care and attention.

Private-school teachers could feel some confidence in the fact that they were beginning to be granted some public recognition. They had been admitted to the government's superannuation scheme and the Departmental Committee had acknowledged their work as being of national importance. They could also draw confidence from the fact that politicians in general supported the principle of independence and some, like Lord Eustace Percy, were eloquent in their defence. Most members of the government had received their education in public schools, where they also desired to send their sons, whilst their daughters were educated in the independent sector. There is little doubt that these men feared that once the principle of the general control of private schools had been accepted, there was the danger that it might be extended to the public schools. There existed a coincidence of interest in that defence of the principle of independence which benefited private-school teachers also preserved the existing educational system which supported the existing class structure. It is interesting to observe what Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, who had roundly criticised the absence of inspection, had done on moving to London as President of the Board of Education: Secondary Education, reported,

Mr. H. A. L. Fisher's little girl was being educated at an unrecognised school in Sheffield. On leaving the district, Mr. Fisher asked the Principal to recommend a similar school near London, and we are informed that he is now sending his daughter to a private school in Godalming. (45)

CHAPTER 6

"AN ESTABLISHED POSITION, 1944"

The outbreak of war in 1939 affected private schools in much the same way as the other schools of the country. Many schools were evacuated and all schools suffered from the restrictions and shortages of war-time. As more private schools were concentrated in the south than in the north, a large proportion of schools were compelled by circumstances to move at great expense and others found it impossible to carry on. Controls of many kinds and rationing made the task of running a school increasingly difficult.

Surprisingly early in the war - surprising when one considers the early setbacks - an earnest discussion on all sides started as to how the educational system should be reconstructed after the war. Private-school teachers began to fear that the forces that had been set in motion by the war might continue and eliminate their schools. The war brought about an inevitable increase in bureaucratic direction and it was feared that a single centralised authority for education might be established to control all sections of education. These fears were expressed as early as December 1939 when an article in The Independent School asked what would be the fate of the independent school and suggested that all the groups outside the state system should combine to defend their position.⁽¹⁾ This suggestion was acted upon, and, after a preliminary meeting in April, 1940, six associations united on 30th May to form a Joint Committee of Independent Education.⁽²⁾ The policy to be pursued was declared as,

To watch the course of educational legislation and administration and to promote such action as will help to maintain the characteristic freedom of British education.

As early as the end of 1940 the two Anglican Archbishops, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster and the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council drew up a memorial called "A Christian Basis for Peace".⁽³⁾ In the following June, thirteen months after Dunkirk, R. A. Butler, President of the Board of Education, circulated a confidential memorandum, which became known as the "Green Book", to local authorities and to teachers' organisations designed to sound opinion on the raising of the school-leaving age, the abolition of fees in secondary schools and other topics of educational reform. In October 1941 a summary of the Green Book appeared which consisted of a list of subjects for discussion.

-
- (1) The Independent School, Dec. 1939, pp. 57-58, unsigned article, "Quo Vadis?"
 - (2) The Independent School, July, 1940, p. 24, "Joining Forces." The six associations were the I.S.A.I., the I.A.P.S., the Association of Head Mistresses of Recognised Private Schools (A.H.M.R.P.S.), the Association of Head Mistresses of Preparatory Schools, the Convent Schools' Association and the College of Preceptors.
 - (3) For an account of the first steps towards education reform during the war see: S.J. Curtis, History of Education in Great Britain, London, 1957, (4th ed.), Chap. XI and H.C. Barnard, A Short History of English Education 1760-1944, London, 1947, Chap. XXXII.

In the ensuing discussion the question of whether or not independent schools should be allowed to continue was raised. The attack on independent education was directed more against the Public Schools than against private schools, though the latter realised that they too would cease to exist once the principle of independence was lost. The attack against the Public Schools came from the political left wing, but during the war, there was also a number of people who wished to see the social unity of war-time continued in the post war years and who saw the Public Schools as disruptive of this unity. It was felt that the Public Schools intensified the class divisions of society by recruiting their pupils from a narrow section of society. Between the wars they were criticised on the grounds of their class consciousness, the cult of athleticism, the suppression of individuality and the neglect of intellect, but, as M. L. Jacks points out, secondary day schools often copied the features most harshly criticised.⁽⁴⁾ The fact that the English educational system served different classes of society differently and perpetuated class divisions, came to be seen as its most serious weakness. Henry Mess writing at this time saw the structure of English education as essentially social:

..... the social standing of the school is of fundamental importance in England, and there can be no understanding of English life until it is realized. There are many differences in equipment and in technique between schools of various kinds, but the greatest of all differences is that they cater for different classes in society ... In England it has been, and in considerable measure it still is, a true account to say that the public elementary schools are regarded as the provision made by the governing classes for the education of the children of the poor. It is true that an increasing number of middle class parents send their children to a public elementary school, but it is still done against a good deal of disapproval from other members of their class, and it is nearly always economic pressure which is the main motive for so doing.⁽⁵⁾

The children at Public Schools, he claimed, came from the same social class,

..... and so without positive emphasis, by mere segregation, the fact of social class is stamped upon their consciousness, the marks of social class are stamped on their behaviour.

Public Schools were seen as defenders of class consciousness and privilege which was sadly incongruous with the spirit of unity and equality engendered by the war. The idealism of the war was well summarised in The Times Educational Supplement in a review of programmes of reform:

-
- (4) M. L. Jacks, *Modern Trends in Education*, London, 1952, (revised edn.), pp. 35-36.
(5) Henry A. Mess, *Social Groups in Modern England*, London, 1940, p. 54.

Educationists in particular have been busy, urging us to adopt measures which would make of our curiously illogical educational system a consistent whole, animated by a common purpose. Nearly every scheme we have seen lays down that, however much it costs, this country must now adopt a system which shall give to every child irrespective of the financial position of its parents, the best education he is capable of receiving.⁽⁶⁾

The fire of organisations critical of the Public Schools was drawn by the establishment by the President of the Board of Education, R. A. Butler, of a special Committee to consider the Public School question under the chairmanship of Lord Fleming in July 1942. Organisations which could have been expected to demand some form of radical treatment for Public Schools, in fact deferred comment on these schools pending the publication of the report. It was clear that the Public Schools would not be abolished, if only because of the predominance of Conservative M.P.'s in the House of Commons supporting the privileged social system of which these schools were a part. Although the Conservative Party was aware of the class nature of Public School education it did not consider the question of abolition, but only schemes that would make it easier for the children from other classes to enter them.

General Desire for Reform

The war-time feelings of solidarity brought about a remarkable degree of unanimity amongst groups that had previously thought of themselves as rivals and an almost universal desire for immediate reform. A correspondent of The Times Educational Supplement summarised the situation as,

This is a time of planning. Up and down the country people are talking about the sort of world we ought to live in after the war. A few discordant voices, mainly of those who are content with things as they are (or were), are saying that we must finish the war first and think about reforms afterwards. But most people believe that to begin definite planning now lends a new enthusiasm to the war. We fight not only against but for the time for action is now. It was not found impossible, during the last war, to steer a great measure of educational reform through Parliament, who knows what may happen if we delay? The vultures of reaction may well be waiting to feed upon dead hopes. It is for all who believe in education to see to it that they are disappointed.⁽⁷⁾

(6) The Times Educational Supplement, December 19, 1942, p. 611, unsigned article, "A Programme of Reforms."

(7) Ibid., p. 611.

Many of the reforms suggested, on which there was a considerable degree of agreement, included the raising of the school-leaving age, the abolition of fees in all state-aided schools, increased provision of nursery schools, secondary education for all from 11 to 16, administrative reforms including the reform of the dual system and a reduction in the number of local education authorities, improved further and adult education and the inspection of private schools. But, in addition to these reforms, it was felt by many that educational reforms should also be directed to encouraging the sense of unity that had been brought about by the war.

Agreement on Compulsory Inspection of Private Schools

Almost without exception, the programmes for reform of the interested groups mentioned the desirability for the compulsory inspection of private schools by the Board of Education. It was commonly recognised that poor private schools existed and that in some of these schools conditions were scandalous. The demand for the implementation of the recommendations of the Departmental Committee on Private Schools was heard from time to time, and during the war the need for inspection became apparent, as a number of makeshift private schools came into existence in the large towns where the state-aided schools were closed or evacuated, to cater for returned evacuees.

A correspondent of The Times Educational Supplement thought that a case could be made out for private schools, and his apologia anticipated the arguments that were to be heard frequently after the war. State secondary education, he maintained, was not open to all since there were not sufficient places with the consequence that many applicants had to be rejected. The result was, he thought,

.... that private schools supply a very real need by catering for secondary school rejects. Their pupils are often children whose development occurs later than the age of 11, and who really make good in a private school; many of them are State school rejects because the method of conducting scholarship, special place, and fee-paying entrance examinations is still very unsatisfactory, and because intelligence tests do not do all that is claimed for them. (8)

In these schools, he thought, classes were smaller and though the tendency was to coach rather than to teach, they were good for boys of a certain temperament. Private schools thus existed because there was not enough secondary school places, but, he pointed out,

..... If the ideal of secondary education for all were translated into reality, private schools would be entirely anomalous.

Secondary education for all would imply no fees and proper transfers, and in these conditions, the only justification for private schools would be if they existed as pioneers in

(8) The Times Educational Supplement, July 5, 1941, "State and Voluntary Effort in Education," p. 317.

educational experiment and advance:

To sum up, private schools are only justified if they can make up for present deficiencies in State education, or if they can branch out on new lines.

The state, he claimed, upheld liberty and recognised the right of private schools to continue,

But many private schools are a sham monument to liberty, by their failure to live up to what they stand for.

Views of the I.S.A.I.

The I.S.A.I. in the discussion preceding the publication of the Education Bill, tended to stress, as it had always done, the distinctive nature of its schools and it also emphasised the need for private schools to become more public in their nature. A leading article in The Independent School in 1942 argued that efficiency went beyond premises, instruction, examinations and organisation and that an indefinable "tone" was required. The school should be, the writer urged, a community based on Christian principles.⁽⁹⁾ In a later leading article this relationship between Christian teaching and private schools was clearly emphasised,

It is our belief that in the majority of independent schools Christian teaching and, more important still, Christian practice, are at the foundation of the daily community life, that Christian principles are the touchstone by which conduct is regulated and judged. Fortunately we are not engaged in heated arguments about the dual system; parents know what we stand for and have made free choice of that particular school which offers the training they wish for their children to receive.⁽¹⁰⁾

When the I.S.A.I. issued a statement of its aims in 1943 it was reported that,

The association believes that a Christian atmosphere should pervade all school life and definite instruction in the Bible should find a place in every curriculum.⁽¹¹⁾

This emphasis on the importance of religion was to become a characteristic claim of I.S.A.I. schools when describing their distinctive nature.

(9) The Independent School, November, 1942, pp. 44-45, "Efficiency."

(10) The Independent School, November, 1943, pp. 40-42, "Curriculum."

(11) The Times Educational Supplement, February 27, 1943, p. 99, "Independent Schools."

The I.S.A.I. issued a statement of its aims in 1943 in which it claimed that its schools should occupy a recognised position in the national education system. It viewed with alarm the growing tendency towards the bureaucratic control of all education and felt that a complete state system would not be truly democratic.⁽¹²⁾ It raised the demand of the 1890's that a Council elected by all branches of education should replace the mythical "Board". External examinations below the School Certificate, it claimed, should be retained, but modified so that they could be taken without special preparation. In order to ensure efficiency, there should be a proportion of registered teachers on school staffs and schools should satisfy requirements as to sanitation and accommodation "and be prepared to accept inspection of an understanding kind". There would always be room for independent schools, it was argued, because they were free to experiment and they were in closer touch with pupils and the wishes of parents, whilst their smaller classes were "unshackled by departmental control". Although no child should be handicapped by reasons of poverty, the I.S.A.I. accepted, the parent must be free to choose the kind of school he prefers and to spend money on his child's education if he wishes.

Society of Individualists

In its campaign the I.S.A.I. found an ally in the Society of Individualists. This society was commended to its members by the I.S.A.I. It stood for the individual freedom of a *laissez-faire* type and feared that social reforms might lead to restrictions of individual liberty and totalitarianism. In 1943 the Individualists published a pamphlet called "The New Authoritarianism in Education" which contained essays by Dr. Jacks, S. Maxwell and Dr. John Murray which defended the right of parents to choose the education they wished for their children. This right was also defended by Lord Elton in an address to the annual meeting of the Society of Individualists who thought that there was

..... a dangerous trend towards the omnipotent state, hints that there are many British citizens, and many influential persons among them, who, for the time being, have ceased to care for liberty, and, provided that it seems to serve their own immediate interests, are ready to welcome with shortsighted enthusiasm any and every extension of compulsion to someone else. There are plenty of people, for example, who are prepared to clamour for 'one uniform system of education', without reflecting that to deprive individual parents of the right to pay to have their children educated at schools of their own choice, is to stamp out one of the essential democratic freedoms, on which much of our national greatness has been built: it is in fact a long step towards the totalitarian state. Very many homes in these days of high wages could afford to pay large sums for their children's education; some prefer to spend the money on drink or betting, and would be the first to object to the State's forbidding them to do so - yet themselves are only too ready to

(12) *Ibid.*, p. 99.

applaud any suggestion that the State should intervene to prevent their fellow-citizens from spending their money upon education. (13)

These views harked back to the speeches that were commonly made by private-school teachers before 1902 when they lamented the disappearance of laissez-faire in education and were fearful of the future.

Educational Reconstruction

When the Government White Paper on reform, Educational Reconstruction, was published in July, 1943, it was clearly stated that there was no intention to abolish independent education, although proper standards would have to be maintained. The White Paper declared:

While the State does not claim a monopoly in the conduct of education, it cannot divest itself of all responsibility for those children whose parents prefer to have them educated in schools outside the public system, and such parents are entitled to have some assurance that the independent schools of their choice are sufficiently well-founded and staffed to fulfil the educational purposes which they purport to do. (14)

It pointed out that this principle received some recognition in the Education Act of 1918, but that the provisions to bring independent schools under satisfactory supervision proved ineffective. Anybody, it continued, whatever his qualifications could start an independent school in any building that did not constitute a nuisance under the Public Health Act, and, although the Departmental Committee found that many independent schools were doing excellent work and the majority were above serious reproach, some were harmful to the mental and physical welfare of their pupils.

The proposals in the White Paper for dealing with independent schools followed the recommendations of the Departmental Committee:

.... it is proposed to require that every independent school shall be open to inspection by the Board and registered on a list kept by them. Schools which are considered by the Board to be open to objection because the premises are unsuitable, the accommodation inadequate, the instruction inefficient or the proprietor or a member of the teaching staff not a fit person to have the charge of children, will not be allowed to continue unless the defects complained of are remedied within a specified period. To ensure that reasonable liberty shall remain for these schools outside the public system, the proprietor will

(13) The Independent School, November, 1943, pp. 35-36.

(14) Board of Education, Educational Reconstruction, July, 1943, Cmd. 6458, pp. 27-28.

have the right to appeal against the Board's decision to an independent Tribunal.(15)

Part III of the 1944 Education Act

When the Education Bill was published, Part III, which became part of the Act, provided a complete scheme for the inspection and registration of independent schools. Under the Act the Minister is obliged to appoint a Registrar of Independent Schools who keeps a register, open to public inspection, of all independent schools. Proprietors of independent schools apply to be put on the register and are provisionally registered until the Minister gives notice of final registration after the school has been inspected under the provisions of Part IV of the Act. The Minister may exempt a school and deem it to be registered if he is in possession of sufficient information concerning it; this normally means that the school is on the list of schools recognised as efficient. No school may be registered if it is subject to a disqualification order. Any person, six months after the date of the commencement of this Part of the Act, 30th September, 1957, who conducts an independent school which is not registered or provisionally registered or who acts to lead to the belief that the schools is registered while it is provisionally registered is liable to prosecution. The Minister also has the power to make regulations prescribing the particulars to be given to the Registrar of Independent Schools by proprietors and requiring these particulars to be kept up to date. If the Minister is satisfied that a registered or provisionally registered school is objectionable he is required to serve a notice of complaint on the proprietor setting out the nature of the complaint and the measures necessary to remedy it: he must also state a time, not less than six months, by which these measures should be taken. The Minister may find a school objectionable on the grounds that the premises are unsuitable as a school; that the accommodation provided at the premises is inadequate or unsuitable, having in mind the ages and sex of the pupils; that the proprietor or any teacher employed at the school is not a proper person to be the proprietor of an independent school or to be a teacher in any school. In the case of a complaint being made about a teacher not being a "proper person", the person must be named in the notice and particulars given of the grounds of the allegation and a copy of the notice served on the person. Every notice of complaint served limits the time, not less than one month, within which the complaint may be referred to an Independent Schools Tribunal.

A person on whom a notice of complaint is served may appeal by referring it to an Independent Schools Tribunal. The Tribunal affords all parties an opportunity of being heard and considers evidence tendered by the parties and it has the power to order a complaint to be annulled; to order the school to be struck off the register; to order a school to be struck off if it does not comply with certain modifications to the satisfaction of the Minister within a certain time; to disqualify premises and accommodation being used as school premises under certain conditions; to disqualify a person from being the proprietor of an independent school or from being a teacher in any school. Where a notice of complaint is not referred by the proprietor to an Independent Schools Tribunal the Minister has the power to make an order the Tribunal would have had power to make.

(15) *Ibid.*, p. 28.

If a person uses premises disqualified by an order, he renders himself liable to prosecution. Also, any person who is disqualified, who acts as the proprietor of an independent school, or who accepts or endeavours to obtain employment as a teacher in any school, may be prosecuted. Prosecutions for offences against Part III of the Act may only be instituted by the Minister.

A person affected by any disqualification imposed by an order may, if the circumstances have changed, apply to the Minister to remove the disqualification by order. An appeal against the refusal of the Minister to remove a disqualification may be made to an Independent Schools Tribunal. The Lord Chancellor makes rules as to the practice and procedure to be followed by an Independent Schools Tribunal, the appearance before them of counsel or solicitors, and payment to members of tribunals. All orders made by Independent Schools Tribunals are registered by the Registrar of Independent Schools and are open to public inspection.

Section 77 of the Act made it the duty of the Minister to cause inspections to be made of every educational establishment and the Sixth Schedule dealt with the constitution of Independent Schools Tribunals. This laid down that two panels should be appointed, one appointed by the Lord Chancellor and to be known as the "legal panel" would comprise persons qualified to act as chairmen of a tribunal, the other to be known as the "educational panel" would be appointed by the Lord President of the Council to act as members of tribunals. Officers of government departments and local education authorities, other than teachers, are disqualified from being members of either panel.

Other Aspects of the Act

The Act also provided in many ways, apart from Part III, for closer contact between the state and independent schools. It did not merely provide for registration and inspection, but it sketched a scheme for education seen as a whole and not regarded as divided into independent and state sectors. C. L. Berry, Director of Education for Wakefield, commenting on this aspect of the Act wrote,

In those other countries where independent schools are allowed to exist, the governments concerned tolerate them and leave them severely alone. There is no precedent for, or any parallel to, the registration and regulation of independent schools which will operate under Part III of the Act. The Education Act refers to the 'Statutory System of Education'. It does not anywhere refer to a State System or to State Schools. The Statutory System is, or will be, a complete one; but it will recognise and, where necessary and possible, co-operate with those schools which were in so many cases a model to Christendom before Education Acts were thought of. Such schools may even be assisted financially by the Ministry or by the Local Education Authority. (16)

(16) School and College Management, quoted in *The Independent School*, November, 1946, pp. 37-38, "The Education Act, 1944, and The Independent Schools," by C. L. Berry.

The Act did not impose conditions on those parents who wanted their children educated at the public expense, as Section 76 stated that the Ministry and L. E. A. 's should follow the principle that,

..... so far as is compatible with the provision of efficient instruction and training and the avoidance of unreasonable public expenditure, pupils are to be educated in accordance with the wishes of their parents.

Under Section 8 (2) (d) a L. E. A. in ensuring that there would be sufficient schools available in its area should have regard

..... to the expediency of securing the provision of boarding accommodation, either in boarding schools or otherwise, for pupils for whom education as boarders is considered by their parents and by the authority to be desirable.

In order to enable pupils to take advantage of any educational facilities available to them without hardship to themselves or their parents, Section 81 (b) states that regulations should be made by the Minister empowering L. E. A. 's

..... to pay the whole or any part of the fees and expenses payable in respect of children attending schools at which fees are payable.

The effect of these Sections, at their most permissive, was to enable L. E. A. 's, subject to certain conditions, to support pupils in any type of school of their parents' choice. In practice, the qualifications were so wide as to neutralise choice. In discussing this question Berry wrote that a parent could choose an independent boarding school, and continued,

The parent and the local education authority must be in agreement on the matter. It is a very important fact that the Act says 'desirable' and not 'necessary'. The parent has also the right 'where practicable', of 'selecting the school to be named' in an Attendance Order, if he is so unfortunate as to have one served on him. The parent's choice of school in such a case will not operate if the local education authority considers that the school selected is 'unsuitable to the age, ability and aptitude of the child', or that the child's attendance at the school selected would involve unreasonable expense by the Authority. Subject, however, to these conditions the child will attend the school selected by the parent, even if it be an independent school.⁽¹⁷⁾

(17) *Ibid.*, p. 38.

The Act also extended the benefits, not strictly educational, to the independent schools. Section 78(2) enabled the L. E. A. by agreement with the proprietor of a school, to make arrangements for securing

.... (a) the provision of milk, meals and other refreshments for pupils in attendance at the school; and (b) the provision for any registered pupil at the school who is unable by reason of the inadequacy of his clothing to take full advantage of the education provided at the school of such clothing as is necessary for the purpose of ensuring that he is sufficiently clad while he remains a pupil at the school.

The Section also permitted the authority, in agreement with the proprietor, to make arrangements for medical inspection and treatment on financial terms to be settled by agreement.

Section 80 of the Act required that registers should be kept in all schools for pupils of compulsory school age. These registers would be kept according to regulations made by the Minister and should be open to inspection. Proprietors of schools were also required to make to the Ministers and L. E. A. such returns "as may be prescribed."

Part III of the Bill was generally accepted as a reasonable way of dealing with the private school question.

Arguments For the Dual System

In his speech on the Second Reading of the Bill, Mr. R. A. Butler pointed out that Part III would only be implemented at a later date as preparatory work needed to be done. The intention of the Government to preserve a dual system of state and independent education was made clear by Mr. Chuter Ede the Labour Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education in the war-time Coalition Government, when he said that inspection of private schools would only eliminate the weakest establishments.

There will be schools,

he said,

which will not wish to be associated with the Local Education Authority or to be regarded as part of the public provision. There is no intention of suppressing such independent schools or establishing a State monopoly in education. The history of all efforts in this country to promote uniformity in education has been a story of dullness and formality from which the nation was only rescued by those who, in defiance of the law, maintained independence. Without infringing the essential liberty of the independent school, a standard of efficiency, both with regard to premises and teaching must be secured by the nation. Accordingly, Part III of the Education Act

provided for a general system of inspection and registration for all independent schools along the general lines recommended by the Departmental Committee over which I presided twelve years ago. (18)

Review of I.S.A.I. Attitude to State Intervention

For the I.S.A.I. the 1944 Act marked the end of a long and slow process of evolution. The inspection of private schools had been discussed for almost a century. Private-school teachers had resisted it when they held a more substantial place in the field of secondary education, but had gradually come to accept it as the only way of eliminating the inefficient. For the ordinary private school in the twentieth century, the inefficient school was its worst enemy. It drew attention to the problem of control and there was always the fear that the more scandalous these schools were, the more they might encourage a "root and branch" approach to tackling the problem of independent education. At a time, too, when private schools had ceased to be in the majority and had become a dwindling and defensive minority, the inefficient school was a weak point in their armour. In the early years of the Association inspection had been feared as a control that would limit or cramp the work of private schools. It was thought that it was the foot in the door on the part of the government which might be followed by a process of nationalisation. By 1944, on the contrary, it was seen as a means of preserving private schools, by giving them an acknowledged position in the educational system. At one time, too, inspection had been seen as something that would lower the dignity of private schools as it was associated with the regimented examination of the plebian elementary schools. Now it was seen as a way of according private schools a definite status. Up to now private schools had feared that inspection might prove harsh and dictatorial, but the provisions of the Act were in fact moderate and offered them the security they desired.

A leading article in *The Independent School* welcomed the Education Bill. On the general provisions, it thought that it was ambitious and tried to meet a vast number of needs generously. It pointed out though, that the enthusiasm for the future structure had overlooked the need for some immediate repairs, most notably the need to reduce the size of classes. Nowhere in the Bill, it was claimed, was there any reference to this question. The article pointed out, quite prophetically in the way that it was to affect private schools in the future, that the three secondary paths open to pupils at the age of eleven was a dubious concept:

It is thought that inevitably the grammar school will be regarded as on a higher plane than the others and will in consequence become the most popular, possibly carrying a certain social prestige. (19)

On Part III of the Bill it was felt that it at least gave to private schools an established position, even though it meant the end of the days of complete freedom. The article welcomed the provisions, yet recognised that they would offend some:

(18) *The Schoolmaster*, September 14, 1944, p. 164, "Private Schools and the Act." Mr. Chuter Ede at the Annual Conference of the I.A.P.S.

(19) *The Independent School*, March, 1944, pp. 8-9, leading article "The Bill."

There are still some, no doubt, who resent the whole business; some who, conscious of doing good work and sure of their good reputation, object to any interference; they wish only to be left alone to get on with 'my school'. Such a reaction is easily understood, but their freedom would mean freedom for anyone and everyone to carry on, for those whose work may be less than good and whose reputation is not spotless Opposition must give way to co-operation It is true that we are still in the dark about many points, that administrative conditions offer a wide field for speculation, that we don't know exactly what may be required of us, but from what we do know of the broad principles may we not feel fairly confident that we shall be treated reasonably and that inspection will prove to be helpful rather than discouraging ?

Private schools could face the future with moderate confidence. The Act had at least accorded them a recognised place in the educational system. They had not been limited or controlled in any way as they might have feared at one time. Although they had to wait to see how the Clauses affecting them would be administered this was not the greatest uncertainty in a country still at war. Obsessed as they were with the worries and preoccupations of the war, it is not surprising that private-school teachers could not predict the boom years ahead when the provisions of the Act would rebound in their favour.

"THE PRESENT POSITION"Post-War Difficulties

The immediate post-war years were years of uncertainty for private schools. The 1944 Act had accorded them a definite position, but no-one knew how or when the provisions of Part III of the Act affecting them would be put into operation. The war years had affected some private schools adversely. The rises in prices and wages, the shortage of domestic labour and teachers, rationing and controls made it increasingly difficult to own a private school. But these same factors affected the public system of education. The Ministry of Education and the L. E. A. 's had in these difficult times not merely to restore education to the standards of before the war, but they had also to begin to implement the far-reaching provisions of the new Act. Not only education, but industry and commerce were in the process of reconstruction and were competing for the short supplies of fuel, materials and labour. The rise in the birth-rate and the raising of the school-leaving age added nearly a million children to the school population at a time of reconstruction. Faced with these difficulties, public authorities placed the implementation of Part III of the Act well down on their list of priorities. More urgent reforms such as raising the school-leaving age presented difficulties that could only be met by emergency schemes to supply prefabricated class-rooms and furniture. Until the urgent problems had been dealt with there was no hope of public authorities turning to the private-schools' question. The I.S.A.I. welcomed the provisions of Part III of the Act concerning independent schools, but was somewhat nervous that their schools might not all weather the post-war difficulties.

Ministry Policy on Assistance to Pupils in Independent Schools

The provisions of the 1944 Act made possible much closer relationships between public bodies and private schools than had been contemplated before. In practice, however, these relationships did not develop despite the recognition of their possibility. In Circular 90 the Minister of Education encouraged arrangements between L. E. A. 's and individual independent schools to take boarding pupils. A later Circular on boarding education stated,

Now for the first time boarding education is to be made available to normal children for whom in the opinion of their parents and of the local education authority this form of education is desirable.⁽¹⁾

A few arrangements have been made under this scheme where, generally, the L. E. A. pays the tuition and boarding fees of pupils sent by them to the school on the basis of an income scale approved by the Minister. Two Authorities which have administered this scheme are Middlesex and Essex. In Essex, about 700 children were helped on an income scale to go to independent schools of their parents' choice in 1964.⁽²⁾ In Middlesex,

(1) Ministry of Education, Circular 120, dated 19th August, 1946.

(2) Hansard. Vol. 689, 20th February, 1964. Cols. 1378 - 1379.

the authority took up places at five public schools. The number of competitors declined in the first six years of the scheme but there were still ten times as many applications as there were awards.⁽³⁾ These schemes, however, are directed at the public schools and the Ministry's policy remained unchanged in respect of private enterprise schools. In reply to a Parliamentary question from Mr. Sorensen in December, 1961, Sir David Eccles, Minister of Education, said that,

In March, 1961, 9,700 boys attending independent schools had their fees paid in full by local education authorities: of these 1,100 came from Essex.⁽⁴⁾

The Ministry found it necessary to state clearly its policy in relation to assistance to pupils at independent schools. It stated that it received enquiries on this question from L. E. A. 's and there was evidence of some diversity of practice.⁽⁵⁾ The Memorandum indicated that,

There are broadly two sets of circumstances in which Local Education Authorities may be expected to accept full or partial financial responsibility for pupils attending direct grant and independent schools, i.e. (i) where the maintained school provision is insufficient in amount or educational character, and (ii) where the maintained schools are sufficient in these respects but parents' wishes for their children to be educated at other schools can be met compatibly with the provision of efficient instruction and training and without unreasonable public expenditure.

It also pointed out that,

..... as a general rule, the Minister would not be prepared to recognise for grant purposes expenditure by Local Education Authorities in assisting pupils to attend, whether as day pupils or as boarders, preparatory schools conducted for private profit.

A further, and more comprehensive statement on this issue was published as a Manual in 1950⁽⁶⁾. The Manual noted that Section 76 of the 1944 Act did not confer on the parent complete freedom of choice, but limited it to being "compatible with the provision of efficient instruction and training and the avoidance of unreasonable public expenditure." It felt that,

(3) The Times Educational Supplement, October 17, 1952, p. 846.

(4) The Times Educational Supplement, December 8, 1961, pp. 793-794.

(5) Ministry of Education, Administrative Memorandum No. 244, dated 5th September, 1947.

(6) Ministry of Education, Manual of Guidance Schools, No. 1., Choice of Schools, 23rd August, 1950.

..... in the present financial circumstances particular weight must be attached to the second of these conditions. Moreover, authorities who are responsible for securing the provision of the school accommodation needed for their area would be faced with an impossible task unless they could assume, as in fact they can and do safely assume, that the great majority of parents will be content to send their children to the school which has been provided to serve their district.

The Ministry saw no reason why a parent should not send his child to another school of his choice, but thought that often the parent's choice would involve additional public expenditure. The Minister thought that,

..... it would not be justifiable to give effect to the parent's choice where to do so would mean taking up free places at independent schools when accommodation is available in grant-aided schools which can provide the requisite education facilities.

It was pointed out that the term "efficient instruction and training" in Section 76 of the 1944 Act was not necessarily to be equated with "efficient" in the sense of Rules 16 governing the formal recognition of schools as efficient, though it added that,

At the same time, the Minister would not regard it as unreasonable, if, to ensure a proper return for their expenditure, authorities limited their aid to pupils attending schools recognised by him as efficient or if they did not assist pupils to attend schools conducted for private profit.

The Minister thought that there would be areas where, in order to make up an educational deficiency, it would be necessary to take up places in independent schools. (7) In such cases no charge for tuition should be made to the parents, but

These are the only circumstances in which the Minister considers that authorities may assume responsibility for independent school fees without regard to parents' means, and, though he would not wish to preclude a reasonable degree of flexibility, he would expect that the normal procedure followed

(7) One such area has been Essex. In reply to a question from Mr. Sorensen asking how many children in Essex, qualified for grammar schools, had their fees paid from public funds to attend independent schools, Sir Edward Boyle replied that 2,019 received help with fees and "Under the authority's regulations a little under two-thirds of these children have places which make good deficiencies in the authority's own provision, while the remainder are helped on an income scale to go to independent schools of their parents' choice."
Hansard, Vol. 689, 20th February, 1964, Cols. 1378-1379.

by authorities would be to take up a fixed number of places at pre-determined independent schools, as in the case of direct-grant schools. These free places would be available to meet parents' wishes on the same footing as the provision in grant-aided schools.⁽⁸⁾

As a result of the administrative interpretation of the Act, private enterprise schools were no better off with regard to assistance from the state than they had ever been. The decision to pay the fees of a small number of pupils in recognised schools not conducted for private profit limited these places, in effect, to the public and direct grant schools.

In a survey of state provision of boarding places in its own and independent schools, Royston Lambert explains that the matter is left entirely to the discretion of the L. E. A. and states:

In administrative practice, these permissive powers have come to mean that help with boarding is given chiefly to children with a demonstrable social 'need' for this method of education. Because 'need' for boarding is obviously capable of widely diverse interpretations, an official working party in 1960 laid down certain definitions in order to promote more uniformity of practice by the L. E. A. 's. Help with the costs of boarding, it recommended, might be given when both parents are abroad; when parents are in this country but liable to frequent moves because of their occupation; when the home circumstances are seriously prejudicial to the development of the child; and when the child has a special aptitude requiring training which can only be given by boarding education. These criteria were adopted by L. E. A. 's as the basis for their own action. How have they interpreted their power and their duties?

Almost all of the 136 authorities which provided information on this particular point have nominally adopted the working party's four criteria of need; but 17 of them interpret need more narrowly and 29 more widely.⁽⁹⁾

If they were not to be aided directly by the Act, indirectly it produced a boom in the demand for places in private secondary schools. Before 1944 a certain proportion of grammar school places were either totally or partially exempt from fees and the remainder were fee-paying places. In 1937, 46.5% of the places were totally exempt from fees and 9.2% were partially exempt.⁽¹⁰⁾ The abolition of fees in maintained schools in 1944 meant that children of low measured ability who might previously have been fee-payers

(8) Manual of Guidance Schools No. 1, op. cit. p. 5.

(9) New Society, 28 October, 1965, "State Boarding" by Royston Lambert, pp. 9-11.

(10) For a full discussion of the history of free and special places in secondary schools see Parity and Prestige in English Secondary Education, by Olive Banks, London, 1955.

could not find places any longer in grammar schools. This led to a rise in the demand for places in secondary schools in the independent sector generally and to a rise in the fortunes of private enterprise schools in particular. A report of the Consultative Committee for Independence in Education described what had happened as

Thus private schools turn in a measure into junior partners of the state schools by continuing for some years the education of pupils rejected at 11+, and satisfying the numerous parents who wish their children to have the chance to pass G.C.E. at 'O' level without restriction in the interests of 'A' level work.⁽¹¹⁾

The demand for private education was also sustained by the rising incomes of the post-war years and the rise in the birth-rate.

Disquiet with Unsatisfactory Schools

The boom years for private schools meant that, without inspection and registration, many unsatisfactory schools flourished alongside the reputable ones. The Ministry was aware of the situation, but felt that it did not have the resources in the immediate post-war years to deal with the problem. At least the private schools of the country were known, as they were not during the inter-war years, as Statutory Instrument (Education) 1948, No. 2097 Pupils' Registration Regulations, made it compulsory for all schools to keep admission and attendance registers and to make returns to the L.E.A. at agreed intervals. From time to time a scandal would blow up and questions were constantly asked in Parliament about when the government intended implementing Part III of the 1944 Act. The I.S.A.I. took the view that many bad private schools existed, but that this was now the responsibility of the Minister as he had the powers to deal with the question.

Government's Reasons for not Implementing Part III

The Ministry issued a statement on independent schools early in 1949 in which, after mentioning the powers conferred on the Minister under Part III of the Act, said that

..... the Minister intends to bring it into operation at the earliest possible date. He is, however, satisfied that it is not practicable to do so until the country's building position and the supply of teachers, and particularly of women teachers, have improved to a sufficient extent for it to be possible for schools to remedy, within the period of time which would have to be specified under Section 71 (1) of the 1944 Act, whatever shortcomings in premises and staffing might be found. As a preparatory measure he proposes to take action under the powers conferred on him by Section 77 (2).⁽¹²⁾

(11) The Independent School, March 1956, pp. 18-20.

(12) Ministry of Education, Circular 196, dated 28th January, 1949.

This last Section of the Act made it the duty of the Minister to cause inspections of all educational institutions at intervals or whenever he considered an inspection desirable. The Circular continued that

In accordance with this decision His Majesty's
Inspectors will in future visit schools not already open
to inspection and will report on them periodically to
the Minister.

The Minister retained the right to send, at his discretion, a copy of the report to the L. E. A. and the proprietor of the school. It was stated that the H. M. I.'s would assess the value of the education provided and its suitability for the children in attendance and they would also indicate any improvements likely to be needed to secure registration when Part III came into operation as well as giving the teachers what assistance they could. Whenever inspectors considered that an unrecognised school would be likely to qualify for recognition, they would draw the attention of the proprietor to the possibility of applying for it, but, it pointed out,

Until Part III is in operation the Minister can
take no responsibility for the conditions prevailing
or the education provided in any independent school
unless it has been specifically 'recognised as
efficient'.

Concern was expressed frequently that without Part III of the Act in operation it was still possible for undesirable teachers to work in independent schools. It was felt that private schools were a means of finding employment for teachers, particularly convicted homosexuals, who were banned from teaching in maintained schools. In response to a series of questions on private schools, the Minister of Education, Miss Florence Horsbrugh, made a statement on 1st July 1954 setting out the government's intention of dealing with the problem.⁽¹³⁾ Miss Horsbrugh said that the government had considered not only the question of excluding persons convicted of offences against young people from teaching but also the more general question of bringing into operation Part III of the Act. She thought that as the pressure on schools was at its heaviest (because of the increased numbers caused by the rise in the birth-rate after the war reaching the schools) the standards which could have been required of independent schools for registration would have been too low and more harm than good would have been caused by implementing Part III. As the pressure on the schools decreased, she said, the prospect of operating Part III satisfactorily would improve and it was her intention to put in hand preparations aimed at bringing it in about 1957. In the meantime she intended taking short-term measures to deal with the problem of unsuitable teachers.

Miss Horsbrugh said that she proposed inviting the proprietors of independent schools to send her particulars of their staffs and of changes from time to time. She planned to require recognised schools, as with grant-aided schools, to report to her the facts if a teacher's engagement were terminated on account of misconduct, grave professional default, or conviction of a criminal offence. She also made arrangements with the Home Secretary to be supplied with particulars of convictions for serious offences

(13) Hansard (Fifth Series), Vol. 529, 1 July 1954, Cols. 1519-1523.

against young people committed by persons engaged, or likely to be engaged, in teaching.

In the event of discovering unsuitable persons by any of these means, Miss Horsburgh continued, she intended acting in the same way as with grant-aided schools:

I shall first communicate with the teacher, after considering what he has to say I shall then, if necessary, make the facts known to the authorities of the school. School authorities, I am sure, will not wish to retain in their service persons who are known to be unsuitable. (14)

She added that she had had discussions with the major associations of independent schools and they had promised their co-operation. If there were exceptional delay, however, or refusal to act on the part of the school for the pupils' protection,

..... the local authority concerned would be asked to consider taking action under the Children and Young Persons Act, and this might lead to court proceedings.

Dr. King argued that the fixing of minimum standards under Part III of the Act need not tie her hand in the future and prevent her from raising those standards and Mr. Dodds advocated the introduction of Part III before 1957. Miss Horsburgh replied:

I believe that we should not be able to insist on a sufficiently high standard because the condition of many of our schools is such that we should not approve of them in the future. Once a school is registered, even though it is of a low standard and is in bad premises, it would not be possible to de-register it it would not be to the advantage of education generally to bring in Part III too early, because we can only make a change in the registration of a school if it falls below the standard at which it was originally registered.

The concern of M.P.'s for the welfare of children in private schools continued and the Minister was repeatedly questioned on this problem. In November, 1954, Mr. Dodds asked for the results of the arrangements made five months previously and was told that action had been taken in the case of seven independent school teachers, four of whom had been notified to the Ministry by the Home Secretary and three by their employers. The Minister was also satisfied with the way proprietors of independent schools co-operated in this matter. (15) The independent schools co-operated too with the voluntary staff returns. By March, 1955, all but 124 of the 3,808 schools approached replied to the request for information about staff. By July of the same year there were only 23 outstanding cases of which only two had been outstanding for a considerable time. (16) Despite the

(14) *Ibid.*, Cols. 1519-1523.

(15) *Hansard*, Vol. 533, 24 November, 1954, Col. 143.

(16) *Hansard*, Vol. 537, 3 March, 1955, Col. 2236 and Vol. 544, 21 July, 1955, Cols. 551-552.

returns, unsatisfactory teachers were able to obtain employment and in December, 1955, three private schoolmasters were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for offences against boy pupils in schools that had responded to the request for information.⁽¹⁷⁾ Anxiety was also expressed concerning schools that were objectionable for other reasons. There was no doubt that a minority of thoroughly bad schools existed. One particularly outrageous case was cited by Sir F. Medlicott in the House of Commons where the schoolmaster,

..... an undischarged bankrupt and ex-convict was convicted of running a private school on a completely fraudulent basis, involving frequent moves of the entire school to avoid creditors.⁽¹⁸⁾

Eventually, on 15th December, 1955, Mr. Vosper announced that the government had fixed 30th September 1957 for Part III of the Education Act, 1944, and Part V of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1946, to come into force. The announcement was generally welcomed in the House, but Mr. Vosper added that it should not be assumed,

..... that a large number of independent schools will go out of action because of the announcement. I have reason to believe that the majority of schools will conform with the requirements of Part III.⁽¹⁹⁾

At this time the Ministry had a reasonable amount of information about independent schools as by May 1954, 3,784 schools had been inspected following the scheme authorised in Circular 196.⁽²⁰⁾

Implementation of Part III

The Independent Schools Registration Regulations were made on 28th May, 1957, and came into operation on 30th September, 1957.⁽²¹⁾ Proprietors of independent schools had until the end of March 1958 in which to apply for the registration of their schools in the register of independent schools. The only schools exempted, with the exception of two, were those that had been inspected and recognised by the Minister as efficient under Rules 16 and were deemed by Order made under Section 70 of the Act to be registered.⁽²²⁾ After the end of March 1958 it became an offence to conduct an indepen-

(17) Hansard, Vol. 547, 15 December, 1955, Col. 1374.

(18) Hansard, Vol. 553, 31 May, 1956, Cols. 435-436.

(19) Hansard, Vol. 547, 15 December, 1955, Col. 1376.

(20) Hansard, Vol. 528, 27 May, 1954, Cols. 590-591.

(21) Statutory Instruments, 1957, No. 929, Education, England & Wales, The Independent Schools Registration Regulations, 1957.

(22) Statutory Instruments, 1957, No. 1173, Education, England & Wales. The Independent Schools (Exemption from Registration) Order, 1957. In addition to the schools recognised as efficient, the Minister exempted by this Order two other schools, The Royal Marines School of Music, Deal and The Duke of York's Royal Military School, Dover.

dent school that was neither registered nor provisionally registered, and, although a few proprietors were late with their applications, the Minister did not consider it necessary to institute proceedings against anyone for failure to apply for registration. (23)

Registration marked the end of a long movement to ensure minimum conditions in all schools. In the nineteenth century private-school teachers had argued that the forces of the market would ensure that the inefficient would be driven out and had resisted all suggestions that the state might impose some degree of inspection and regulation. There is little doubt that one of the main reasons for these objections was the fact that private-school teachers feared that the state would impose conditions of efficiency higher than most private enterprise schools would be able to attain or sustain. In the event, the greatest blow against private schools did not come from state regulations, but from the competition of aided grammar schools following the 1902 Act. Private schools had to learn how to exist alongside a state-aided system, either in competition with it, or, serving a clientele not provided for by the state. In these circumstances the attitude towards inspection changed. Schools in direct competition with state-aided schools either succumbed to the opposition or maintained a standard reasonable enough to compete. Other schools catered for a special clientele: those for whom there were not sufficient places provided by L.E.A.'s or who, for various reasons, did not want to use publicly provided schools. These two groups were the schools able to pay their own way and which formed the membership on the whole of the I.S.A.I. The worst enemies of these schools were the inefficient schools that existed without sufficient capital. These schools were often ephemeral, because they would be driven out by their own inefficiency, but whilst they could obtain pupils there was nothing to prevent them from operating. As anyone could open a private school, many tried and many failed. A correspondent of The Times pointed out that,

George Tomlinson, Minister of Education after the Second World War, used to reflect that it was easier to open a school than a fish and chip shop. And only this summer Mr. Michael Stewart could point out in a Commons debate that, while a convicted felon could not run a public house, there was no legal bar to his becoming headmaster of a private school. (24)

The same article pointed out that during 1956 some 188 schools closed down, but the Ministry of Education heard of 163 new ones. The I.S.A.I. welcomed registration as a means of protecting their members from the accusations of inefficiency encouraged by the existence of bad schools.

The I.S.A.I., as registration approached, warned its members that no matter how good a school is there is always some weak spot and they should be constantly examining all aspects of their schools. Registration should be made use of, the Association urged,

(23) Ministry of Education, Education in 1958, H.M.S.O. Cmnd. 777, p. 21. No proceedings for failure to register have been instituted up to 1969.

(24) The Times, 1st October, 1957, p. 11, "Private Schools Under Review."

as an incentive to improve private schools. (25) The Executive advised members to pay attention to a list of points, including accommodation, sanitation, playgrounds, equipment, text-books, size of class, age-range of class, overcrowding, attendance regulations and arrangements for boarding schools. It pointed out that attention should be paid to "Quantity and quality of teaching staff with due regard to the balance between qualified and unqualified or inexperienced teachers" and to "Curriculum and its bearing on the age-range of the pupils and their varied attainments, abilities and needs." (26) When registration became an established fact, the I.S.A.I. warned its members that if their schools were to survive in the future, they would need to establish a standard higher than that required for registration:

Principals who are granted Registration should not look upon this as an end, but as a beginning. Registration represents only the minimum requirements of the Minister, and it should be the aim of all so registered to prepare themselves for Recognition, and all Principals who consider that their accommodation, equipment, staff and general efficiency warrant it, should apply for Recognition. (27)

The I.S.A.I. feared that if a political attack were made on independent schools the recognised schools might be incorporated in the state system, but that the unrecognised schools would be abolished. The advantage of recognition over registration, the I.S.A.I. explained in the same article, was that:

It would be extremely difficult for any government to explain the advantage of destroying hundreds of schools which had received the seal of Recognition from the Ministry of Education Independent schools will survive not by reason of any traditional right nor by virtue of membership of any association. They will save themselves only by achieving and maintaining such a standard of efficiency that no educational system can afford to be without them.

It is interesting to note that far from resenting registration, the I.S.A.I. advised its members to go beyond it. It was a final acceptance, after years of doubt, that the guarantee of efficiency had to come from outside.

This view was taken by the Ministry, which, in its explanatory memorandum on registration, warned that registration would not mean that a school was good:

It must be understood that confirmation of registration is not to be taken as a mark of the Minister's positive

(25) The Independent School, November, 1951, p. 82.

(26) The Independent School, March, 1957, p. 16.

(27) The Independent School, March, 1958, pp. 12-13, "Registration, Recognition and the Future."

satisfaction with the school. Only recognition as efficient will give this. The Minister hopes, therefore, that a growing number of independent schools will aim at securing recognition as efficient. (28)

Subsequent registration, therefore, meant that the schools were not "objectionable" in the sense of the Act. This has come to mean no more than that the education is not gravely deficient nor gravely immoral and gives no guarantee that the education is positively sound.

Events in 1967 caused the Department of Education and Science to express disquiet with registration. The case at Cholderton College, where the headmaster was sentenced to five years' imprisonment on charges of assault and cruelty to children, led to the setting up of a Departmental inquiry to consider the question of inspection. On 3rd November, 1967, Mr. Patrick Gordon Walker, Secretary of State for Education and Science, announced in the House of Commons that the inquiry had been completed but that the report could not then be published as some matters within it were still *sub judice*. He announced the government's intention to refuse to register private schools that failed to reach the standards required for recognition. He stated that much as he would have liked to apply this standard to all registered private schools, this would involve an enlargement of the inspectorate larger than could be afforded or even recruited. For the first five years his Department would concentrate on the 314 registered boarding schools, but he hoped that it would later be possible to "have a further drive to raise minimum standards in day schools." (29) It is interesting that the excuse for failing to raise standards immediately was the lack of inspectors, the same as was used thirty-five years previously after the 1932 Departmental Committee. It was suggested at that time, however, that inspectors could be relieved of some of their routine inspection of maintained schools in order to concentrate on raising standards amongst private schools. It could well be that the present reluctance of the Department of Education and Science to adopt such a policy is fear of the invidious comparison that might be made between standards for recognition that would be applied to all independent schools with the existence of poor maintained schools such as those described in the Newsom and Plowden Reports.

Conditions Revealed by Inspection

The implementation of Part III brought to light a large amount of information that previously could only be guessed at. In 1958 there were nearly 4,400 independent schools of which a third were recognised as efficient and the remainder registered or provisionally registered. There were 500,000 pupils of all ages in these schools, compared with about seven million pupils in maintained and direct grant schools. These figures, the Ministry Report for 1958 pointed out, compared with the 860,000 pupils in private venture schools estimated by the Newcastle Commission in 1861 and the 400,000 pupils in 10,000 private schools estimated by the Departmental Committee on Private Schools in 1931. There were more pupils educated in private schools in 1958 than in 1931, but in less than

(28) Ministry of Education, The Introduction of Part III of the Education Act, 1944 and the Registration of Independent Schools, Explanatory Memorandum, London, H.M.S.O., 1956, p. 3.

(29) Hansard, Vol. 753, 3rd November, 1967, Cols. 503-505.

half the number of schools. At the end of 1958 there were 1,486 independent schools in England and Wales recognised as efficient, this number had risen from 982 at the beginning of 1947, and 2,886 schools on the register of independent schools. 2,628 of these schools were finally registered and 258 provisionally registered. In 170 cases the Minister decided that the school should be inspected by a special team of Her Majesty's Inspectors before deciding about registration. Of the 59 cases of this type dealt with before the end of 1958, 23 led to formal notices of complaint being served.⁽³⁰⁾

Concern about the presence of undesirable teachers in private schools had been one of the main reasons for bringing into force Part III of the Act, but from the checks carried out between 1954 and 1958 only nine cases of this type were brought to light. The inspection of private schools for Part III, however, showed that there were other reasons for concern.

Although the majority of independent schools were unobjectionable, the inspections conducted during 1958 revealed many grave weaknesses. Because of the smallness of many private schools, classes often contained children who,

..... differed so widely in age and ability that the resulting problems were beyond the capacity of their untrained teachers to solve: either the pupils, despite their varying ages and attainment, were being taught as a single class, or else, divided into smaller groups, they lacked the direction, the books and the material to enable them to work profitably on their own. In some schools, where there were no planned schemes of instruction the teaching proceeded from day to day in haphazard fashion, and there was no co-ordination in the work of members of staff who took the same pupils, even in one and the same subject.⁽³¹⁾

The Ministry's Report also complained that in some schools the progress was painfully slow, whilst in others, pupils had been taken through the early stages so swiftly that they were subsequently called upon to do tasks beyond their comprehension. Some subjects had a very small time allocation, for example, one period a week for French, and subjects like art, handicraft, needlework, music and physical education received little attention and in some cases none at all. It was found common for the curriculum to become narrower as boys and girls approached the end of their careers as juniors.

The lack of facilities in some schools made it impossible for them to provide a full secondary education. In others the facilities were present, but poor organisation prevented the pupils from taking full advantage of them. The report in Education in 1958 cited a number of cases where the teaching was inefficient or ill-considered. Instances were given of badly set exercises, of text books that consisted of nothing but tests where,

(30) The figures in this paragraph are taken from Education in 1958, op. cit., pp. 21-28.

(31) Education in 1958, op. cit., p. 23.

..... the questions have all the disconnected variety that characterises the 'quiz' and if they leave any deposit in the minds of the pupils it can only be a jumbled miscellany of relatively unimportant information.

One very bad case was described, where,

The standard of handwriting is low. Arithmetic, for which no apparatus of any kind is provided, consists of calculation by the mechanical counting of pencil strokes made on paper. No understanding of processes is achieved at any stage; five-year olds were found doing sums in tens and units without being able to add one to two, and at least two of the older pupils in the class, aged 7 and 8, could only reduce pence to shillings or shillings to pounds by making the necessary number of strokes and marking them off in twelves and twenties.

The Ministry Report continued,

In one or two schools instruction of this kind was being given in physical conditions that were as defective as the education.

Examples were given of dilapidated premises with fungoid growths and dry rot, classes held in buildings that were fire hazards, old fashioned furniture including backless forms and poor sanitary facilities. Although some independent schools on whom notice of complaint had been served were very bad on all counts, the Ministry concluded that,

It would be wrong to assume that most of the unrecognised schools are poor places. Most of them are in fact unobjectionable and the Minister was able without difficulty to grant final registration to 2,643 of them. Many, indeed, are good schools, though they are different from maintained schools and cannot be judged by the same standards.

Occasionally, work of real merit was done in what might appear to be unfavourable circumstances.

From the introduction of Registration in 1957 until the end of 1969 there have been served 181 notices of complaint. The Register of Independent Schools is open to inspection by the public at the Department of Education and Science, as, too, are the findings of the Independent Schools Tribunal. Not all the orders have been made against small schools run by individuals, as, for example, the Independent Schools Tribunal in January, 1965, confirmed an order, on the grounds of premises and the narrowness of the curriculum, made against a school owned by a well known company that runs commercial schools. The effect of Registration has been to force the worst schools to close, but it has not provided a guarantee of the quality of education provided. A school can only be forced to close if it is gravely objectionable and the only guarantee of educational efficiency is still recognition under Rules 70.

Statistics of Independent Schools

The implementation of Part III of the 1944 Act has meant that statistics of independent schools are now available which enable one, to some extent, to judge current trends among these schools. The most significant overall trend is that the number of registered schools has declined continuously since 1958.⁽³²⁾ The number of Recognised schools rose from 1958 to 1964 after which the number levelled off, but there has been a significant decline in the number of these schools since 1966. In 1958 there were 1,447 independent schools recognised as efficient and 1,476 in 1968: over the same period the number of other independent schools, registered or provisionally registered, fell from 3,029 to 1,590. This decline was caused mainly by schools closing and partly by schools seeking and achieving recognised status. The largest number of closures occurred amongst registered or provisionally registered primary schools, there being a fall of 41.2% of primary schools over the period and of 64.1% for mixed primary and secondary schools. The total number of recognised schools rose by 2.0% over the period and the total number of registered independent schools fell by 47.5%. The detailed figures showing this trend are set out in the table below.

Change in the Number of Independent Schools, 1958-1968

TYPE OF SCHOOL	Independent Schools Recognised as Efficient				Other Independent Schools, Registered or provisionally Registered under Part III			
	Number of Schools				Number of Schools			
	1958	1964	1966	1968	1958	1964	1966	1968
Nursery	11	9	9	11	230	211	162	106
Primary	765	774	757	753	1782	1280	1116	1047
Secondary	251	299	324	269	157	229	173	128
Primary and Secondary	420	468	448	443	860	485	409	309
Total	1447	1550	1538	1476	3029	2205	1860	1590

It should be emphasised that the figures above refer to the number of schools and not the number of pupils in independent schools. When the figures are broken down they reveal that the different types of school have been affected differently by the changes in the period under review. In the case of Registered schools, the nursery schools, primary and mixed primary and secondary schools numbers have declined consistently

(32) The figures that follow have been derived from the Ministry of Education Reports, "Education in 1958" et seq., and "Statistics of Education, 1961." et seq.

over the whole period. Registered secondary schools increased in number, reaching a maximum in 1964 of 38.9% above the 1958 level, but since then have declined, falling to below the 1958 level in 1967. Also, when the size of school is taken into consideration, it is seen that the most numerous casualties have been amongst the smallest schools.

Between 1958 and 1968 the 2.0% increase in the number of recognised schools was accompanied by an increase of 7.2% in the number of pupils in those schools, and the fall of 47.5% in the number of registered independent schools brought about a fall of 42.9% in the number of pupils in them. The fall of 41.2% in the number of registered independent primary schools brought about a fall of only 24.8% of the pupils in those schools. This would indicate that there was a general decline in registered independent primary schools and that the decline was most acute amongst the smaller schools. The position is shown in the following table.

Percentage Change in the Number of Pupils in Different Type of School, 1958 - 1968

TYPE OF SCHOOL	Percentage Change, 1958 to 1968 (+ increase or - decrease)			
	Independent Schools Recognised as Efficient	Other Independent Schools (Registered)	Maintained Schools	Direct Grant Schools
Nursery	-4.8	-38.8		
Primary	+7.2	-24.8	+3.3	
Secondary	+4.3	-37.7	+24.2	
Primary and Secondary	+8.8	-62.0		
Total	+7.2	-42.9	+10.6	+13.9

Up to 1963 the increase in the number of pupils in registered secondary schools was greater than for maintained secondary schools, 29.9% over 1958 compared with 19.3%. This increase was accounted for by the displacement of pupils from maintained grammar schools after the abolition of fees, the general prosperity and rise in the standard of living in the 1950's and the rise in the birth-rate in the immediate post-war years. Since 1963 this trend has been reversed. The number of registered secondary schools continued to increase to a maximum of 229 in 1964 (a 45.9% increase over 1958) but the number of pupils in them declined. By 1968 the number of registered secondary schools had contracted to 128 and the number of pupils in them had fallen to 37.7% below the 1958 number, compared with an increase of 24.2% for maintained secondary schools over the same period. This change is explained in part by the tendency for independent schools to become recognised. The number of registered secondary schools fell by 45 from 1965 to 1966, but there was an increase of 25 recognised secondary schools in the same year. The number of pupils in registered secondary schools declined in this year by 3,478, but there was a corresponding increase in the number of pupils in recognised schools of 8,374, giving an overall increase of 4,896 pupils in independent secondary schools as a whole. This trend has not been maintained as there has been a decline in the number of pupils in Recognised secondary schools since 1967, at a time when the number of pupils in maintained secondary schools has been increasing.

In the field of primary education the number of pupils in recognised independent schools has increased steadily whilst the number in registered schools declined until 1966 since when there has been a small recovery. Pupils in registered primary schools fell by 27.1% between 1958 and 1966 and by 24.8% between 1958 and 1968 but these variations may be explained in part by fluctuations in the birth-rate, although the corresponding fall in maintained primary schools was only 3.2% between 1958 and 1966 and actually increased by 3.3% between 1958 and 1968. In the case of the category of mixed primary and secondary schools there has been a decline in the number of pupils in the registered schools of this type though the numbers in recognised schools of this type has fluctuated considerably. The number of pupils involved is shown in the table below.

Number of Pupils in Independent Schools, 1958 - 68.

TYPE OF SCHOOL	Recognised Schools			Registered Schools		
	1958	1964	1968	1958	1964	1968
Nursery	336	274	320	4,688	5,168	2,868
Primary	86,363	87,906	92,594	101,789	81,290	76,556
Secondary	67,195	75,717	70,085	15,542	19,728	9,690
Mixed Primary and Secondary	127,500	143,777	138,701	101,757	56,524	38,624
Total	281,394	307,674	301,700	223,776	162,710	127,738

The total number of pupils in independent schools has fallen from 458,207 in 1965 to 429,438 in 1968. This has been brought about by the decline in the number of pupils in registered schools as the number in recognised schools has increased since 1958, though the numbers in these schools has declined since 1967. This decline marks a long-term trend for registered schools as their numbers (excluding nursery schools) have declined from 305,591 in 1950 to 124,870 in 1968, a fall of 59.1%. Today, pupils in independent schools constitute 5.2% of the total school population, 3.7% in recognised schools and 1.6% in registered schools. Until 1966 the overall relative increase in the number of pupils of all ages in Recognised independent schools since 1958 was greater than the increase in maintained schools, 9.8% compared with 5.2%, but there was a decline of 37.0% in the number of pupils in Registered schools. The situation has changed somewhat since 1966: in 1968 the increase in the number of pupils in Recognised schools was 7.2% above the 1958 figure, whilst the corresponding figure for maintained schools was 10.6% and Registered schools had declined further to 42.9% below the 1958 figure. Between 1958 and 1968 the number of pupils in direct grant schools increased by 13.9%. There has been a relative decline in the independent sector as a whole over the period, their proportion of the total schools' population falling from 6.7% in 1958 to 6.4% in 1963, 5.7% in 1966 and 5.2% in 1968.

The majority of private schools have been finally registered and Part III of the Act which had been so long feared as a state inquisition, in the event, proved to be very moderate in its demands and most private school teachers now regard it as normal. The

Ministry of Education (and Department of Education) has not interfered in any way with the freedom of private schools to determine their own curriculum, organisation, fees, etc. Although the Department of Education is not able to assist private schools directly, the relations between the two are, on the whole, co-operative and friendly.

Factors Affecting Private Schools in Recent Years

The two influences that have affected private schools most in recent years have been economic pressure and the fear of political interference with the private sector. Both these forces have had the effect of making private schools look beyond themselves to wider public issues and to a consideration of the possibility of making themselves more public in their nature.

Economic Factors

The economic factors fall into two main groups, those that affect the ability of parents to pay fees, which may be considered as the demand side of education, and the supply side consisting of the way in which costs have been affected by the state of the economy.

1. The Question of Fees

The amount of money spent on independent education has increased since the war. John Vaizey has estimated the expenditure on private education in the United Kingdom to have risen from £10 million in 1937/8 to £58 million in 1957/8.⁽³³⁾ This increase is explained partly by the rise in prices and teachers' salaries, but also, at first, by the increased number of children attending independent schools. The figures quoted above show that there was an increased demand for private secondary education until 1963, following the abolition of fee-paying in grammar schools in 1944. The increase in the birth-rate in the immediate post-war years also led to an increased demand for private secondary education.

Private schools themselves were apprehensive lest increasing costs and the consequent rise in fees would prove more than parents could afford. But, contrary to expectation, demand did not slacken with increasing costs. A speaker at the Oxford conference of the I.S.A.I. in 1955 claimed that independent schools which raised their fees did not notice any drop in the number of new entries and Mr. A.E. Russell, consulting accountant to the I.S.A.I., added that the rising costs of education had to be passed on to parents with a clear statement of the facts. An indication of the demand side of private schools was given when after the I.S.A.I. published its own Year Book and appealed for advertisements to be inserted by its members:

(33) London and Cambridge Economic Bulletin, New Series No. 35. September, 1960, "Education in a Rich Society", by John Vaizey, pp. vii-viii. These figures revise the estimates made by John Vaizey in The Costs of Education, London, 1958, Chapter 7. The figures of expenditure on private education in the United Kingdom in £million are:-

<u>1937/8</u>	<u>1947/8</u>	<u>1954/5</u>	<u>1957/8</u>
10	35	46	58

Some members have said that they have not taken entries because they have so long a waiting list that they feel that advertisement is unnecessary, and no doubt from the point of view of the individual school this is correct. (34)

As parents with children at independent schools had to meet the full increase in the rising costs of education, it led to a demand for income tax relief in respect of school fees. This demand was rejected by successive Chancellors of the Exchequer. The Governing Bodies Association and the Headmasters' Conference met Mr. R. A. Butler, when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer, in 1952, but he was unable to find grounds for granting a concession. When Mr. R. H. Turton, M. P., a Vice-President of the I. S. A. I. proposed a new clause to the Finance Bill in 1962 which would have given up to £75 tax relief in respect of school fees, Sir Edward Boyle for the Ministry said that "it would be a doubtful principle for the Chancellor to give an allowance for this particular type of expenditure." (35) It is probable that the government felt that sufficient tax relief was being given indirectly towards the payment of school fees.

As income tax relief may be obtained on the payment of life-insurance premiums, this has become a popular way of paying school fees over a long period and a number of insurance companies offer educational endowment assurance. The details of the schemes vary slightly, but the general principle is that an insurance policy on the father's life is taken out and as the period of insurance will be spread over a period longer than the child's school life, the total amount of money due at the end in order to pay the fees is more than the total amount paid in premiums. Also, like all life policies, the premiums are subject to two-fifths income tax relief. Whilst the child is actually at school, the fees are paid by means of a loan on the security of the policy and the interest payable on this loan also attracts income tax relief. Under this scheme parents are able to pay premiums whilst the child is actually receiving his education.

Another scheme for obtaining tax relief on school fees is the educational covenant. A covenant is a legal document contracting to pay someone regular sums of money over a period of not less than six full financial years, and, as it cannot be made by a parent for his own child, it is usual for it to be made by a grandparent, uncle, friend, etc. As the child pays no tax, he is able to claim back the tax paid on the sum by his benefactor. Professor Titmuss estimates that a covenant can result in a saving of between 50 and 60 per cent on sums of about £400 per year. In 1958, Professor Titmuss reports, the Board of Inland Revenue estimated that the total sum payable under deeds of covenant amounted to £37 million of which £25 million represented non-charitable deeds in favour of persons. The income tax and surtax forgone was estimated at £6½ million and £10 million respectively. (36)

A large proportion of the higher income groups pay to have their children educated privately as was shown in a survey carried out in 1956 which stated:

(34) The Independent School, November, 1957, p. 60.

(35) The Guardian, 6 June, 1962, p. 2.

(36) Richard M. Titmuss: Income Distribution and Social Change, London, 1962, pp. 84-85.

The high cost of private education was a reason advanced by families with children for not being able to save. In the group with incomes of £1,000 or more, 38 per cent had children being educated (at schools or universities). Only about 5 per cent of those educating their children sent them to state supported institutions at public expense. Most were paying the total amount of their children's educational expenses, but about 21 per cent of those with children at school were receiving aid either from relatives or scholarships. (37)

It would seem that considerable relief may be obtained, by the methods described above, from the burden of school fees. Another demand for relief, however, has come from those who argue that the parent who sends his child to a private school pays twice for his education, once through taxes and again through fees. This demand for assistance for those buying private education has echoed many of the arguments for private education heard at the turn of the century. In recent years there has been a revival of utilitarian and *laissez-faire* views emphasising freedom in education and parental responsibility. These arguments have taken the form of suggesting that parents using independent schools should be subsidised or that fee-paying should be re-introduced into all schools.

The most comprehensive account of these views has been put forward by A. T. Peacock and J. Wiseman. Basically, their scheme is a restatement of the proposals put forward by Frank Roscoe in 1929 described in Chapter 5 above. (38) Roscoe had argued that instead of distributing grants, the government should issue each parent with a warrant, equal to the minimum cost of educating a child to the standard required by the state, which could be exchanged for state education or used to offset part of the fees in private schools. Peacock and Wiseman recognise that the government has a duty to ensure a minimum standard of education in the country, but they question the assumption that because of this the government should provide education. The obligation of the government, they consider, "would seem to involve at the minimum, the general provision of finance by government at a level needed to provide for the education specified as compulsory". (39)

-
- (37) Institute of Statistics Oxford, *Bulletin*, Vol. 18, No. 4, November, 1956, "Savings and Finances of the Upper Income Classes", by L. R. Klein, K. H. Straw and Peter Vandome, pp. 293-319. The survey was conducted in London and the Home Counties and the sample was drawn from Debrett's Peerage, the Directory of Directors, the Medical Register, the Dentists Register, the Institute of Chartered Accountants. Out of an effective sample list of 499, replies were received from 349 of which 305 schedules were usable.
- (38) For a fuller history of schemes of this kind see, Social and Economic Administration, Vol. 2, No. 1, January 1968, "The Voucher System of Educational Finance and Independence in Education" by Gordon Robinson.
- (39) Alan T. Peacock and Jack Wiseman: *Education for Democrats*, Hobart Paper 25, London 1964, p. 29.

They continue,

This obligation, however, does not require that education must be provided by the public authorities; we must distinguish between the obligation of government to finance education, and the much more far-reaching policy of public provision. Indeed, it follows from our own attitude to public policy that finance is to be preferred to provision, ceteris paribus, since it involves a much less severe circumscription of the freedom to choose of individuals and of families on behalf of their children. We regard this as desirable in itself, and would also expect it to be valuable in encouraging efficiency and experimentation in education provision. (40)

The scheme, as envisaged by Peacock and Wiseman, would be for the government to provide vouchers to be spent on education to parents of children of compulsory school age:

Parents would be left to 'spend' the vouchers at private or unsubsidised state schools of their choosing
The vouchers would be non-transferable and realisable only by authorised educational institutions. (41)

The idea of the subsidy has been accompanied by a renewed demand for the charging of fees in L. E. A. schools. The demand for the charging of fees in aided schools was used by the private schools at the turn of the century as a means of eliminating "unfair" competition. It has been argued by the Bow Group that money raised by charging fees in state schools could be used, not to lower taxation, but to expand existing educational services. Godfrey Hodgson argues,

The demand for education is demonstrably enormously strong. . . . Secondly, in all sections of society, people are voting for education with their feet, more and more they want their children to go to the grammar school, to stay there longer, to go on to the university, to take up apprenticeships. And in one quite large group this demand for education amounts almost to frenzy. I mean the dozens of thousands of parents who put their children down to swell the waiting lists for public and preparatory schools. (42)

(40) Ibid., pp. 34-35.

(41) Ibid., p. 35.

(42) Principles in Practice: A Series of Bow Group essays for the 1960s, London, 1961, "Education on Demand" by Godfrey Hodgson, p. 35.

Many more than the five percent who pay fees in independent schools, Hodgson continues, could afford to contribute towards the education of their children:

People needed free schooling - the argument runs, and I am convinced by it - to be persuaded that schooling was for them. Now that they have seen its advantages, and are anxious to have as much of it as possible, the expensive incentive can be withdrawn.

Arthur Seldon, who supports the Peacock and Wiseman approach, writes, echoing Robert Lowe:

If rising incomes are weakening the case for state education, there are also positive reasons for removing obstacles and possibly for encouraging private education. First, a free market is the most effective method of knowing how much people are able and willing to spend on education Secondly, if the family is to be strengthened as the unit of social life and education made responsive to its preferences, parents should be able and encouraged to choose between varying forms of education rather than take the standardised state service, which most now regard as the natural course. Parents usually take a closer interest if they pay fees in part because they may come from families accustomed to appraising alternative schools but basically because they want value for their money. (43)

Though these proposals have received a certain amount of publicity and discussion, and would affect the private-school position considerably, there seems little prospect of their being incorporated in legislation. The Labour Party, whose views will be discussed later, would tend to be against proposals of this kind and they have also been rejected by the Conservative Party. The Spring issue of Crossbow in 1961, (the journal of the Bow Group) contained an article by Mr. Stuart Maclure, then editor of Education, in which he wrote that the policy proposed by the Bow Group,

. . . . would be economically stupid and electorally disastrous. Till now educational opportunity has been governed by social class to an intolerable and utterly uneconomic degree because of traditional family attitudes which make it so much more likely for a working-class boy to leave school at fifteen than for a boy of similar intelligence from a middle-class home. These class conventions have led to a great waste of talent in the past. It was the boast of the Butler Education Act of 1944 that it pointed the way to a change, but deliberately to reintroduce fees and make educational opportunity more dependent not only on parental attitude but also on parental purse would retard the whole process by a generation. (44)

(43) The Statist, 30 March, 1962, "Independence in Education" by Arthur Seldon, pp. 969-971.

(44) Reported in The Observer, 16 April, 1961.

A similar attack on the scheme was made by Sir David Eccles, Minister of Education, in a speech to the Oxford University Conservative Association when he described it as "completely misconceived" and "bad Toryism". Both he and his colleagues were against the proposal and he said that,

The Government's policy, recognising the value of the family, was to make financial concessions to parents, and it would be absurd to charge them fees, which would merely cancel out such things as family allowances and income tax concessions. The effect would be to shift the burden from those who had no children to those who had, 'and that', Sir David said, 'would be neither just nor fair.' It would seem contrary to the 1944 Education Act. He thought the payment of fees would not increase parents' interest in their children's education and it might lead to more early school-leaving. It was, he said, 'quite against Tory doctrine of the family as something very special.'⁽⁴⁵⁾

It seems unlikely, in view of the tax concessions already available to parents, that the demand side for private education will be supported by government action.

2. Costs: Staffing, Educational Trusts

On the supply side, private schools have been affected by rising costs in the same way as any other business. When the demand for private education was high, these increases were passed on to parents in the form of higher fees. Private schools, however, have been at their weakest in competing with maintained schools for competent staff. The lack of trained staff is the most serious weakness in many private schools, though independent schools as a whole absorb a larger proportion of teachers per pupil than do the maintained schools. Statistics of Education, 1968, indicates that independent schools as a whole employ 9.3% of the total number of full-time teachers in all schools to teach 5.2% of the total number of children at school. The corresponding figures for registered schools alone show that 2.4% of the teachers teach 1.6% of the children. The pupil-teacher ratio in independent schools is lower than in maintained schools: taking account of the full-time equivalent of part-time teachers, in 1968 there were 12.6 pupils per teacher in registered independent schools compared with 20.2 pupils per teacher in all maintained schools. But this ratio is often maintained by employing unqualified teachers. In addition to the 7,169 full-time teachers in registered independent schools, these schools employed 5,018 part-time teachers. The corresponding ratio for recognised independent schools is 12.3 pupils per teacher. In a survey of its members conducted by the I.S.A.I. in 1952, the returns from 297 schools showed:

..... one qualified teacher for every 16 pupils; one full-time qualified teacher for every 25 pupils; one qualified or unqualified full-time or part-time teacher for every 12 pupils.⁽⁴⁶⁾

(45) The Times Educational Supplement, June 16, 1961, p. 1256.

(46) The Independent School, November, 1952, p. 58, "Lessons From Our School Census"

In 1951 the Executive of the I.S.A.I. considered ways of attracting staff to their schools as it was felt that staff preferred to work in recognised schools where their service could be reckoned for superannuation and increments on the Burnham Scale were they to move to maintained schools. The Council of the I.S.A.I. advised its members that there should be no great discrepancy between the Burnham Scale and salaries paid to assistants in private schools. The figures from the I.S.A.I. census show that private schools have tapped many sources for their supply of staff. In the 297 schools there were: "Qualified teachers giving full-time service 1,752, part-time 866; unqualified, full-time 654, part-time 285." (47) Many schools make use of married women to teach on a part-time basis whilst many young people are employed as unqualified teachers. A letter in The Times Educational Supplement in 1959 drew attention to "recruits on the cheap", that is young people aged 18 or 19 who became teachers with a "transitional vocation". (48) Like some L.E.A.'s, private schools make use of students who have passed G.C.E. "A" level and who are waiting for university places. Another source of supply has been ex-army officers. The Incorporated Association of Preparatory Schools has run an intensive one week course at Oxford for ex-service officers and Colonial Civil Servants. The course covers basic class-room subjects and modern methods of teaching. The Association also runs a training course which lasts 18 months whilst teaching in an I.A.P.S. school which is conducted in association with the Oxford University Institute of Education and a refresher course lasting four or five days. The I.A.P.S. devotes more than a fifth of its income to these training schemes. (49) Although some schools pay their assistants more than the Burnham Scale, it is not general to make use of the scale uniformly. Unqualified and married part-time teachers are often paid below the scale, as, too, are some ex-officers whose incomes are supplemented by pensions. It is also the practice in some cases to make an efficiency bar at a point, sometimes seven years, along the Burnham Scale. The term "Burnham Scale" appearing in some advertisements means the minimum payment on that scale. It is quite common for retired teachers from maintained schools to teach in private schools as their pensions are unaffected by their earnings:

Teachers who reach retiring age, which many do at 60, lose their pension while they stay in full-time work in State schools. But if they go to teach in private schools, or take some other job not paid from public funds, their pension is inviolate. (50)

By the mid 1950's the trend became for some private schools to turn themselves into educational trusts for a variety of reasons. One of the advantages of the educational trust was that it relieved private schools of the stigma of "private profit." The report of

(47) The Independent School, November, 1952, p. 66.

(48) The Times Educational Supplement, August 28, 1959, p. 203.

(49) School and College, April, 1961, pp. 932-933, "Teacher Training in I.A.P.S. Schools" by John Boyce.

(50) The Guardian, February 22, 1961.

the Consultative Committee for Independence in Education emphasised the gulf between schools run for private profit and others in the independent sector:

Class distinctions divide the schools, and dislike of the profit motive disposes Trust and Company Schools to hold themselves aloof from proprietary schools. Sectionalism reigns among the schools. (51)

But there were also strong economic motives for forming educational trusts and the Secretary of the I.S.A.I. reported in 1958 that increasing numbers of independent schools were turning themselves into trusts. (52) A report on the I.S.A.I. Easter Conference in 1959 spoke of members regarding the increasing level of teachers' salaries as the most serious threat to the maintenance of high standards. A partial solution to this they thought, was the employment of married women as part-time teachers,

But this valuable source of supply is only a partial solution, and members discussed means of securing a fuller and more lasting one and arrived at the conclusion that the most satisfactory was the turning of their privately-owned schools into educational trusts. (53)

The principals and advantages of forming educational trusts have been well described by C.C. Russell Vick, a lawyer specialising in these arrangements. The desires of an owner headmaster, Mr. Russell Vick suggests, would seem to be,

- (1) to ensure that the school will provide a sound education,
- (2) to preserve the continued existence of the school, and
- (3) to make some provision for the Headmaster himself. (54)

Mr. Vick describes how before the 1939 war it was usual for a headmaster to train a younger master to take over the school. The headmaster would receive a lump sum from his successor for the freehold or leasehold property, the fixtures and fittings and the goodwill, sometimes on the security of a mortgage. It is now virtually impossible, Mr. Vick writes, to find a successor with sufficient capital to take over and purchase the assets, consequently the best means of enabling the owner headmaster to retire is to transfer the school's assets to a company limited by a guarantee as an educational trust.

In order to form a trust, Mr. Vick continues, the headmaster needs first to collect together a group of people who will sit as governors for the school. The governors constitute the first members of the company and the memorandum and articles of association are drawn up. The articles provide that the company shall not use its profits except for the benefit of the school and that under no circumstances can profits be transferred to the governors. It is provided that the headmaster will remain at the school for a long

(51) The Independent School, March, 1956, pp. 18-20, "The Consultative Committee for Independence in Education Report".

(52) The Independent School, July, 1958, pp. 34-38, "Secretary's Annual Report."

(53) The Independent School, July, 1959, "The Easter Conference, 1959," p. 34.

(54) The Independent School, July, 1959, pp. 41-42, "The Formation of an Educational Trust" by C.C. Russell Vick.

period of years as a governor and as headmaster, though he becomes salaried and not directly interested in the profits.

Once the company is formed, Mr. Vick continues, it enters into negotiations with the headmaster to purchase the buildings, the fixtures and fittings and the goodwill, though, in some cases the headmaster might prefer to retain the buildings and only loan them to the school. When a price is agreed, then the company, which has no capital, issues a debenture or series of debentures to the headmaster which provide for the payment to him of the capital sum over a period not exceeding thirty years. Whilst the debentures are outstanding the headmaster may receive interest on them of not more than five per cent.

Mr. Vick explains that,

As the Company is recognised by the Inland Revenue as a charitable organisation (since it does not pay its profits to shareholders) the Company's profits are not liable to tax and the moneys saved thereby can be used to provide for three things:-

- (1) A salary for the Headmaster;
- (2) The payment of interest on his Debentures;
- (3) The gradual repayment of those Debentures.

The income that the headmaster receives in the future, Mr. Vick explains, will entirely depend on the successful running of the school. If the school fails, the headmaster's remuneration suffers, "but he will have the security that as a Debenture holder he will have first priority on the assets." The headmaster can also receive a pension on retirement as the school will continue, and, in the event of death of the headmaster, death duty is paid by his heirs on the value of his debentures and not on the value of the school.

Mr. Vick points out that the day-to-day administration of the school remains in the hands of the headmaster and it is customary to leave the engagement and dismissal of staff to him. The governors make no financial contribution to the company and their liability is limited to £1 if the company is ever wound up. Mr. Vick explains that,

The Ministry of Education is interested only insofar as they represent the Charity Commissioners; the Minister authorises the Company to issue Debentures, and the Conveyance of the land from the Headmaster to the Company must be registered with the Ministry. In no other respect are they concerned in an educational trust, though it is known that they look upon them with favour.

The 1967 edition of the Independent Schools Association Year Book shows that 41 of its members (9.2% of the schools in the I.S.A.I.) have turned their schools into educational trusts. The I.S.A.I. has urged its members to turn their schools into educational trusts for reasons other than those of economic advantage described by Mr. Russell Vick. It has been felt by the officers of the Association that educational trusts give the answer to many criticisms of private schools that have been made in the past. Trusts mean that the schools are no longer run for "private profit" and they also give the schools

continuity beyond the life of the individual owner. It is thought that the schools that are trusts will be in a stronger position than other private schools if political action is taken against the private sector. The combination of recognition by the Department of Education and Science and educational trust status, it is thought, gives to independent schools a public guarantee that enables them to carry on their own work in their own way. In the event of the independent sector being abolished, schools of a semi-public nature are more likely to be incorporated in the maintained system than others run for private profit, it was thought in the I.S.A.I. (55)

Political Factors

The I.S.A.I. has feared at times since the war that political interference with the independent sector might seriously endanger the existence of private schools. These fears have largely arisen from discussions in the Labour Party to deal with the public schools, but certain movements within the Conservative Party have also given grounds for concern.

In its first administration after the war, the Labour government was too concerned with dealing with the implementation of the 1944 Act and raising the school leaving age in a time of shortages to pay much attention to the independent sector. The return of the Conservative Party to power in 1951 and the flourishing demand for places in private schools calmed the fears of the I.S.A.I. Some disquiet, however, was expressed at the acceptance in Labour Party circles of the idea of the comprehensive school. The I.S.A.I. feared that as parents made use of comprehensive schools the demand for places in private schools would diminish. (56) This view was no doubt held because the demand for private education was sustained partly by the exclusion of the children of some middle-class parents after the abolition of fees: if the grammar school were to disappear then this source of recruits might disappear too. But private schools also feared the possible abolition of public schools by the Labour Party as this might lead to the abolition of fees. The scheme put forward by Mr. H.D. Hughes, Principal of Ruskin College, Oxford, to integrate public schools into the state system reinforced these fears. (57)

The official educational policy of the Labour Party was largely concerned with comprehensive schools and public schools and little mention was made of private schools, though a section in the Labour Party pamphlet "Learning to Live" in 1958 outlined their policy in relation to unrecognised private schools:

Finally, there are probably 250,000 children attending fee-paying schools not recognised as efficient. In quality, these range from reasonably good to very bad. Under Part III of the 1944 Act they are now being provisionally registered with the Ministry and will be inspected so that the satisfactory ones can continue as 'registered

(55) The Independent School, March, 1958, pp. 12-13.

(56) The Independent School, November, 1951, p. 68.

(57) H.D. Hughes: A Socialist Education Policy, Fabian Research Series No. 173, July 1955.

schools' and others closed down. In enforcing this part of the Act a Labour government will recognise that some of these schools are pioneers in new theories and practices; it will invite the help of university departments of education in assessing the value of these schools. Labour realises also that before a school is treated as unsatisfactory and required to close, one must make certain that the local authority can make good provision for the children. A Labour Government, however, will not tolerate private schools with standards below those which would be required in the nation's own schools. No one can claim the right to establish or patronise something which purports to be a school but purveys a travesty of education. (58)

It is interesting to note that the interest of the Labour Party in this statement of intention was to eliminate inefficient schools and not to ban independent schools. The concern of the Labour Party has been with the fact that fee-paying schools work against the idea of equality of opportunity in education, but they have recognised that to abolish all fee-paying schools would create a state monopoly which might destroy the freedom to experiment in education. The use of university departments of education as assessors was an attempt to preserve the purely educational independence of schools. The implementation, however, of this policy would have closed most of the I.S.A.I. schools which are not "progressive" schools, but are more inclined to conventional educational methods.

Before the 1964 General Election the only reference to independent education in the Labour Party's Manifesto was, from the private school point of view, the cryptic statement that,

Labour will set up an educational trust to advise on the best way of integrating the public schools into the state system of education. (59)

The Labour government formed after the election refrained for some time from making a statement on the way it intended to deal with independent schools, but eventually set up in December 1965 a Commission with Sir John Newsom as Chairman to consider the question of the integration of public schools. Prior to the 1964 election the Secretary of the I.S.A.I. wrote to the General Secretary of the Labour Party, Mr. A. L. Williams, concerning Labour's policy with regard to independent schools. The reply, in full, said,

Thank you for your letter of May 29th. The Labour Party has no intention to ban private preparatory, kindergarten or secondary schools. Our policy of integration is confined to public schools for the reasons outlined in 'Signposts for the Sixties?' (60)

(58) Learning to Live, Policy for Education, Labour Party, June 1958, p. 62.

(59) The New Britain, The Labour Party's Manifesto for the 1964 General Election, p. 14.

(60) The Independent School, November, 1964, p. 74, the letter was dated 10 June, 1964.

Mr. Anthony Crosland, whilst Secretary of State for Education and Science, re-affirmed Labour's intention to integrate the public schools into the state system in a speech made on March 6th, 1965. He indicated that the government intended taking a moderate view and rejected superficial or total solutions:

First, I reject what I call the fig leaf school of thought - the idea that the problem is solved and the battle won if the schools admit a derisory minority of children from the state system because this would give the schools a fig-leaf or veneer of democratic respectability when in fact nothing basic has been changed at all. We must either have a proper reform or none at all. I also reject, at the other extreme, the 'nihilist' school of thought - those who would convert all schools into Borstals or mental institutions, or at the very least would nationalize them all. (61)

Mr. Crosland thought that the better facilities in public schools attracted a disproportionate share of the country's educational resources and their expensive fees limited access to them to a privileged minority of the population. He concluded,

It must, in the last resort, be the Government's responsibility to ensure that pecuniary privilege gives way to equal opportunity over the whole field of education. But I shall try to achieve this goal by agreement if at all possible.

He gave no indication of whether private schools would be affected by these proposals.

A later statement made by Mr. Reginald Prentice, Minister of State for Education and Science, promised that the government did not intend to make fee-paying schools illegal:

We do respect parents' freedom of choice. It is not our intention to remove the private sector in education. It is not our intention to make private payment of school fees illegal. (62)

He thought that it might be possible to retain a private sector of education as in other western countries and this could be done by removing the special mystique and social role of the public schools whilst preserving the system of fee paying for those able and willing to do so. When the Newsom Commission reported in July 1968, it soon became clear that its recommendations were unlikely to be adopted. Although the Commission thought that independent schools were socially divisive, it was against the state taking them over completely and it suggested a scheme to be administered by a Boarding Schools Commission whereby half the places at independent schools willing to enter an integrated sector would be

(61) The Times Educational Supplement, 12 March 1965, p. 761.

(62) The Observer, July 11, 1965, p. 3.

taken up by pupils financed from public funds.(63) There was no suggestion of abolishing the independent sector in the report.

Conservative Party Views

There were signs during the Conservative administration from 1959 to 1964 that the government was not entirely satisfied with the existence of private schools, especially at the primary level. Sir David Eccles, Minister of Education, told the Conservative Party Conference at Brighton in 1961 that he thought it would be a good thing if nearly all parents chose to send their children to state primary schools. Sir David, in view of the questions raised, sent a memorandum to all Conservative Offices, in which he explained that he thought some preparatory schools were better than maintained primary schools in the same way that some public schools were better than maintained grammar schools,

But more and more primary schools are giving as good or better education than many small independent schools. I do not think enough parents realise this - how the overlap is growing and how wise they would be to make careful enquiries about primary schools to which their children could go. (64)

Another reason for using primary schools, Sir David thought, was the financial burden of independent education for middle class parents:

I am impressed by the number of young married people in the professional and salaried classes whose ambition to send their children to public schools is frustrated by the cost of the preparatory school to which the child must be sent if he is to have a chance to pass the entrance examination.

There was, too, Sir David thought, the question of social policy to be considered:

The number of people is growing who feel that the two systems of education - private and maintained - ought to be drawn closer together. At the next election we shall hear a lot about this; I believe some positive policy is required from us. I am wholly against spending large sums of public money on buying places at public schools to be filled by the children of parents chosen by the Minister. The best course is to modify the entrance requirements of the public schools by giving the primary school child the chance to compete on equal terms with the preparatory school child, and to make the education at primary schools good enough to give the child the grounding he or she needs to compete in the entrance exams. It is true that many parents select an independent school because they believe their child will get a better start in life

(63) Public Schools Commission First Report, Vol. 1: Report, H.M.S.O., 1968.

(64) The Primary Schools, A Memorandum by Sir David Eccles, Minister of Education, sent to all Conservative Offices, dated October 24, 1961, cyclostyled.

in such a school. This is a natural desire. All I ask is that parents should also consider the disadvantages to their child of being separated from many of his contemporaries from the age of five. I believe we shall only create that sense of unity in tackling our national problems, of which I spoke at Brighton, if the next generations are better mixers and one way to achieve this would be for all small children to learn and play together.

Sir David Eccles returned to this theme the following February in an address to the Conservative Women's Advisory Council. He said that one of the chief instruments creating the social gulf in British society was the education system. Some social reformers, he said, thought that there was no way of closing the gap created by the two systems except by abolishing the independent schools, and declared,

This would be a wholly obnoxious piece of destruction which only those who put theory in front of life itself would propose. (65)

But he returned to his earlier suggestion that those parents who could afford to pay fees for pre-secondary education should first see if there was a school in their neighbourhood which would satisfy them on educational grounds.

Sir Edward Boyle, when Minister of Education, was concerned with the weakness of some private schools. In an address to the I.S.A.I. conference in 1963, he said that he had deliberately tried not to harry schools, except for the few very bad ones, and then went on to say:

Many of you will know that there have been some independent schools whose standards and conditions were disgraceful. When we find them we act as quickly as the law allows us to or wisdom suggests, but others like them will appear again or come to our notice from time to time. (66)

Sir Edward asked the delegates to think earnestly whether their schools could do full justice to all children, especially secondary school children, who in these days should as a matter of right be enjoying a good general education and some preparation for a career:

Ask yourselves (he said) whether in 1963, when all-age schools have almost vanished from the public system, many small schools with an age range of 4 to 16 years can seriously accomplish this.

The report of his speech continued,

(65) The Daily Telegraph, February 9, 1962, p. 15.

(66) The Guardian, April 20, 1963, p. 2.

He believed that the percentage of children educated in independent schools was likely to go on falling. In 10 to 15 years' time it would have fallen below 6 per cent. He thought that parents would probably tend, as the years went by, to send their children to schools under the maintained system where the size of sixth forms was growing. But he was sure that the independent school, recognised as efficient, also had an important part to play.

Present Condition of the I.S.A.I.

It is interesting, at this point, to look at the present position of the I.S.A.I. which has been the basis of so much in this study. The Association does not include all private schools in its membership, but its fortunes reflect many of the forces affecting them. Today the I.S.A.I., according to its 1967 Year Book, includes 445 schools of all types in Great Britain, though this number fell to 421 in 1968. Of these schools 191 (42.9%) are recognised as efficient by the Department of Education and Science and 41 (9.2%) are educational trusts. The membership has declined by about 150 schools in eleven years: in 1956 the membership contained between 590 and 600 schools.⁽⁶⁷⁾ The Annual Report of the I.S.A.I. for 1963-64 spoke of declining numbers and said,

During 1963 a large number of our members reached retirement age and the majority of these closed their schools without finding successors.⁽⁶⁸⁾

The figures compiled by the Department of Education and Science, quoted earlier in this chapter, show that the decline has been most marked in primary schools. In 1962 there was also a large number of closures and this decline has made it increasingly difficult for members reaching retirement age to find purchasers for their schools and in a discussion at the I.S.A.I. Easter Conference in 1961,

It was pointed out that a number of schools had recently closed or were about to close because the proprietors were taking advantage of the present inflated value of property for development purposes. Owners of schools have two courses of action open to them; either to secure the continuance of the school and their own financial security by turning their schools into educational trusts or the closing of a school with their own financial security assured by the sale of the property at the present enhanced values.⁽⁶⁹⁾

Independent schools that are not educational trusts have been particularly hard hit since 1964 as these schools are not exempt from the payment of Selective Employment Tax for their staff and this has no doubt added to the number of closures among these schools.

The schools that are members of the I.S.A.I. tend to be all-age schools. An analysis of the age ranges of the schools, taken from the ranges stated in the I.S.A.I. Year Book

(67) The Independent School, November, 1965, p. 82, Secretary's Report.

(68) The Independent School, July, 1964, p. 42.

(69) The Independent School, July 1961, p. 46.

for 1965 shows that out of a total of 473 schools there were only 62 that could claim to be strictly primary (i.e., all the children leaving at 11 or younger) or 137 primary and preparatory (i.e., all the children leaving at 13 or younger). Similarly only 38 could be described as purely secondary in that they did not take in pupils under the age of 11. The remaining schools had pupils below and above 11 in the range of anything from 2 to 19. Of the schools with pupils leaving at 16 or above, 194 also took in pupils of 5 or younger. The age range that appeared most frequently was 5 - 18 (50 schools) after which was 5 - 17 (35 schools) and 4 - 18 (33 schools). The commonest starting age was 5 (145 schools) followed by 4 (138 schools) and the commonest leaving age was 18 (157 schools) followed by 17 (89 schools). (70)

The geographical distribution of I.S.A.I. schools shows a heavy concentration in London and the south-east. More than half the schools, 241 out of 473, are in this area. (71) This concentration existed in 1949 when the I.S.A.I. stated that more than half their members were in the London and South-East areas. (72) Statistics of Education, 1968 also shows the greatest concentration of independent schools in Greater London and the South East. Outside London, most I.S.A.I. schools are found in Surrey, where the Ministry of Education report Education in 1958 found the greatest proportion of pupils in independent schools (over 15 per cent). A report prepared for the Surrey County Council in 1953 said,

It is to be noted that some 38,000 pupils are attending independent fee-paying schools in the County. It is probable, taking into account boarders, that the homes of about 32,000 are in the administrative county. About 20,000 of these pupils attend schools other than those recognised as efficient by the Minister of Education. (73)

The distribution of I.S.A.I. schools follow roughly the distribution of the middle classes in the population, apart from the concentration in the South East there are, for example, twenty I.S.A.I. schools in Cheshire, though this is somewhat distorted by the fact that 48.2% of I.S.A.I. schools accept boarders and boarding schools are often sited because of the salubrious nature of the area. Education in 1958 showed that the three areas where between 12 to 14.9% of the total school population were in independent schools were Southport, Exeter and Bournemouth. Hastings, Eastbourne, Brighton, West Sussex and Somerset also had between 9 and 11.9% in independent schools.

-
- (70) These figures have been derived from The I.S.A.I. Year Book 1965 in which each school shows the age range it caters for. This does not mean that there are necessarily children of all ages stated in the school.
- (71) "London and the South-East" has been taken as:- Berkshire (9), Buckinghamshire (8), Essex (17), Hampshire (20), Hertfordshire (14), Kent (30), London (47), Middlesex (19), Surrey (43), Sussex (34).
- (72) The Independent School, March, 1949, pp. 15-16.
- (73) Report of Surrey County Council Education Committee, Independent Schools in the Administrative County of Surrey, by R. Beloe, Chief Education Officer, 27th October, 1953.

The I.S.A.I. sees part of its function today as providing a secondary education along traditional grammar school lines for those pupils who fail to obtain a place in a grammar school at 11+. The extent to which they are doing this may be seen to some extent in the official statistics of education. In 1966 the proportion of children in maintained schools of all types aged 11 and over was 42.0%; the corresponding figure for non-recognised independent schools was 30.6% and for recognised schools 64.3%. The extent to which the independent schools retain their children beyond the statutory school-leaving age of fifteen becomes clear when one compares the proportion of pupils in maintained schools of all types over the school-leaving age which was 6.2% with the corresponding proportion for non-recognised independent schools which was 7.3% and for recognised schools 21.6%.⁽⁷⁴⁾ Since 1966, however, the Registered independent schools have slipped back. In 1968 the proportion of pupils aged 11 and over was 40.9% for maintained schools, 62.8% for Recognised independent schools and 26.9% for Registered independent schools: the corresponding proportions of pupils over the school-leaving age were 6.4% for maintained schools, 18.9% for Recognised independent schools and 5.7% for Registered independent schools. These figures indicate the relative decline of independent schools in the secondary sector. Despite this, however, private schools tend to be less specialised in their nature. Most of them are all-age schools and although there are, in the I.S.A.I., 103 boys' schools, 77 girls' schools and 135 co-education schools, the commonest school (155) is the girls' school which also takes in small boys - there are also three boys' schools which take in small girls.

The Consultative Committee for Independence in Education maintained that because there is a draining away from private schools to state schools at 11+ of pupils of academic ability, G.C.E. 'A' level courses cannot be expected in all schools. Some private schools do not maintain sixth forms, but pass on the successful pupils at 'O' level to maintained grammar schools who have not been able to fill their sixth forms.⁽⁷⁵⁾ Pupils also pass on to technical colleges and colleges of further education in order to take 'A' levels. With the conventional grammar school closed to those who "fail" the 11+, private schools act as a bridge between the primary school and traditional academic higher education.

Relations with Department of Education and Science

Relations between the I.S.A.I. and the Department of Education and Science have become friendly and co-operative since the war. There have been a few points of friction, notably the question of the recognition of all-age schools, but both sides have been conciliatory. Before the 1914 war, the Board of Education only inspected secondary schools for the purposes of recognition, though later this was extended to preparatory schools. Between the wars private schools complained that the Board of Education could inspect preparatory or secondary which eliminated many of their schools which claimed to be both primary and secondary. In March 1946 the Ministry of Education issued revised regulations (Rules 16) for Recognition in which the sharp division between primary and secondary schools was abolished. Primary schools with pupils over twelve could be recognised, provided adequate provision was made for those pupils over twelve and the majority of children went on to secondary schools. The Ministry's regulations required the instruct-

(74) These figures have been derived from Statistics of Education Part I: 1966, H.M.S.O., October 1967.

(75) This information was provided by Mr. W.H.S. Curryer, former Secretary of the I.S.A.I.

ion given to be adequate in character for the whole age-range of pupils. But schools were still recognised as "primary" or "secondary" though the demarcation line had become more elastic where the division was blurred. The I.S.A.I. had advised its members to apply for recognition, but as most of the schools in the Association were all-age schools it made it difficult for them to achieve this status. The Ministry, on the other hand, if it accorded a school its mark of approval, had to ensure as a guarantee for the public that its mark of approval applied to all pupils in the school.

The I.S.A.I. complained that the Ministry applied too high a material standard in granting recognition especially in insisting on science laboratories. In February, 1954, Miss M. J. Falconer, H. M. I., addressed the London area of the I.S.A.I. on "The Recognition of the Independent School - Implications and Requirements", on which The Independent School commented,

After Miss Falconer had outlined the procedure which follows an application for Recognition and had given examples of unusual and unconventional schools which had been accorded 'Recognition' she answered questions put to her by Members, and it became clear that it is very difficult for an all-age-range school to achieve Recognition. (76)

On 26th November, 1954, a deputation from the Consultative Committee for Independence in Education visited the Ministry of Education to discuss the subject of Recognition with Sir Martin Roseveare, the Senior Chief Inspector and the Chief Inspectors of primary and secondary schools. The Report of the Secretary of the I.S.A.I. on this meeting said:

..... in spite of the lack in some cases of elaborate laboratories, gymnasia, libraries, etc., the representatives of the Ministry appeared to base the grant of recognition more on the ability of any school of any type, fully to extend the pupils in its care rather than on its provision of elaborate amenities. (77)

The present position is that Rules 16 make no reference to primary, secondary or preparatory schools, but state that,

In order to be eligible for recognition as efficient, a school must provide a progressive general education suitable at all stages for pupils of an age-range of not less than 3 years between the ages of 2 and 17. (78)

The Rules also state that,

The instruction must be efficient and suitable and must be adequate in scope and character for the whole age-range of pupils.....

(76) The Independent School, July, 1954, p. 29.

(77) The Independent School, March, 1955, p. 6.

(78) Ministry of Education, Rules 16 (Revised May 1960).

and that,

The number of pupils must be sufficient for economical and effective organisation.

I.S.A.I. Acceptance of State's Role

The extent to which the I.S.A.I. has come to accept the principle of friendly co-operation with the state may be judged from the following extract from The Independent School:

From time to time we receive complaints from Members about the attitude of Her Majesty's Inspectors and Local Education Authorities towards Independent Schools containing allegations of discrimination against such schools. On closer investigation, it usually appears that no such discrimination is being exercised but that where requests for consideration made by our Members have been refused, the reason has been that circumstances have made it impossible that the particular request should be granted. Many of our Members have very friendly relations both with Her Majesty's Inspectors and Local Education Authorities and, it is the opinion of the Executive, that in cases where Members set out to establish friendly relations with Her Majesty's Inspectors and Local Education Authorities very happy results are obtained This Association stands for independence and Members must be prepared to grant the same independence to Her Majesty's Inspectors and Local Education Authorities. (79)

Despite its present-day insecurities that threaten the very existence of private schools, the I.S.A.I. see themselves as a protective organisation furthering the ends of their members by securing for them the most favourable conditions of co-existence with agencies much stronger than themselves. Their manner has become more professional and they have shed the almost paranoid sense of self-importance and persecution that so characterised the Association in the past. They no longer see the state as an oppressive force crushing them out of existence, but a recent spokesman of the I.S.A.I. has stated their present position thus:

The Independent section is an integral and essential part of a sound democratic system of education which provides an alternative, yet one which is complementary to, and co-operates in many ways with, the other sectors without claiming any financial privilege from the nation's resources, while at the same time providing the parent with the choice which must always lie as a family responsibility. (80)

(79) The Independent School, March, 1964, p. 6.

(80) The Times Educational Supplement, September 24, 1965, p. 560, letter from E. Ivor Hughes, Chairman of Publicity and Policy Committee, I.S.A.I.

THE PRIVATE SCHOOL FUNCTIONThe Function of Private Schools

In the nineteenth century the position and function of private schools was clear. At the time of the Schools Inquiry Commission (1868) the only secondary education available to the children of the middle and working classes was provided by the endowed and private schools. The wealthier members of society sent their sons to the public schools which were exclusive in their nature and aimed at producing the leaders of society. The occupational changes in the nineteenth century, the introduction of civil service examinations, the growth of commerce and the new professions, brought about an increased demand for secondary education. Many of the endowed schools had fallen into decay, others were hopelessly inefficient and, like the public schools, they tended to cling to a classical curriculum that most middle class parents did not require for their children. Private schools supplied a secondary education where none existed, or they supplied a curriculum more in keeping with the requirements of parents.

Private schoolmasters saw themselves as the suppliers of secondary education which was also known at this time as middle class education. Their function was to provide, by means of private enterprise, education for the middle classes, coming between Public Schools for the well-to-do and elementary schools for the poor. At the same time they separated the status groups of society giving their pupils training in the manners, speech and dress of their class and providing entry to middle-class occupations.

Judged by the goals of the middle class educational system, taken to mean success in examinations set by educationalists and the placing of pupils into the high status positions in the employment system, private schools were inefficient as a group. The Schools Inquiry Commission and the Royal Commission on Secondary Education (1895) drew attention to the inadequacies of private schools as a group. By the end of the century the demand for state provision of middle-class education had become a commonplace.

After the establishment of a national system of education in 1902, the continued existence of private schools poses a number of questions that cannot be answered in purely educational terms. They seem better answered by social facts lying outside the educational system that a number of sociological concepts help to clarify. The main questions would appear to be:

1. Why, given reformed schools and the beginnings of a national system of education, have private schools continued to exist?
2. Why, given the acceptance by successive governments of responsibility for the efficient education of all children, did they fail to inspect private schools?
3. Why, if the private schools' organisations were a weak political force, were they protected from government interference?
4. Why, given the inefficiency of many private schools, did parents continue to patronise them?

In attempting to answer the first question the evidence would suggest that private schools as a whole could not be said to attain goals judged by professional educational standards. Individually some schools were of the highest quality, but these tended to be in a minority, as spokesmen of the Private Schools Association admitted. This would indicate that the reasons for the continued existence of the majority could not have been educational but were social. One needs, then, to ask, do private schools have a social function?

The major educational structure after 1902, reflecting the value system of society, became the Public Schools standing independently, the local authority technical and secondary schools with aided endowed grammar schools, and the local authority and aided elementary schools. This threefold division, Michael Sadler thought, mirrored the class divisions in English society in organising education in three main compartments, each from beginning to end independent of the other two, for the ruling, intermediate and labouring classes.⁽¹⁾

After 1902 the policy of the Board of Education was directed to improving the quality and efficiency of secondary education rather than permitting uncontrolled expansion. The vast majority of private secondary schools (the "progressive" schools are an exception to this trend) were trying to provide the same type of education as the L.E.A. schools and they not only felt the increased competition through the creation of new schools, but they fell behind in quality as the Board raised the standard of secondary education. All the available evidence points to the great majority of private schools being small in size, generally under 50 pupils, with most pupils leaving before the age of 16, the proprietor providing most of the teaching and the school being held in a converted house. That private schools, apart from the best, were not eliminated altogether with the provision of municipal education is accounted for by the fact that the demand outran the state supply. Because of the Board's determination to preserve standards, it meant that L.E.A.'s could not provide places for all the middle-class children in their areas. The only public alternative to the secondary school was the elementary school which was despised by middle-class parents. If there were no good secondary schools, middle-class parents made do with private schools whether they were good or not.

Whilst the Public and municipal secondary schools did not produce a sufficient number of pupils to fill all the places available in middle class employment there was a place for private enterprise to fill the gap.

The private schools fulfilled the function of relieving the pressure from the weak points of the major educational structure, but they also served to maintain the existing status system.

Without the private schools, as the following diagram shows, there would have been a confusion of status differentiation in the status system.

(1) Secondary Education, July 15, 1903, paper by M. E. Sadler on "The Value of Private Schools in a National System of Education", pp. 138-144.

	<u>Social Status</u>	<u>Educational Status</u>
Public Schools	High	High/Low
Private Schools	High/Middle	Low
Secondary/Grammar	Middle/Low	High
Elementary	Low	Low

In the absence of private schools, the elementary schools would have had to absorb pupils of high social status and low educational status. With the growth of middle class occupations and professions demanding formal educational qualifications for entry, mainly the school certificate and higher school certificate, emphasis on achievement as opposed to ascription became important. But achievement versus ascription is not a simple dichotomy in relation to the occupational system. This occupational system is neither entirely ascription oriented nor achievement oriented, but elements of each are relevant in varying proportions for each occupation. Given the trend towards greater achievement orientation in middle class occupations, it was possible to have mixed social status in the secondary schools provided high educational status was maintained. But for entry to those middle class occupations where an ascription orientation prevailed, it was necessary to eliminate children of low social status from the schools. For those parents who could not afford Public School fees and who could not obtain a place in a secondary school, the private schools catered for their status needs. They provided the shibboleths of dress, manners and speech demanded by the status system and many schools went to great lengths to exclude children of low social status.

The persistence of an ascriptive orientation in the occupational structure has ensured the continued existence of private schools, but it has also perpetuated the bifurcation of the English educational system into an independent sector and a state sector. While the independent sector is able to limit its entry to those with high/middle social status it is able to preserve an ascription orientation in its schools. In this situation private schools act as a buffer, cushioning the forces that might otherwise reduce the ascription orientation in the occupational and educational structures by fulfilling the status requirements of those who are aspiring upwards.

The bifurcation of the educational system in terms of status enables the Public Schools to act as a positive reference group for the educational system as a whole. Private schools have tended to ape the external values of the Public Schools placing great emphasis on manners, speech, school uniform and games. They have provided the high status educational symbols for pupils of high/middle social status and low educational status. At the same time, the private schools have adopted the expressive goals of Public Schools, stressing the importance of religious education, the education of the whole man, loyalty and patriotic sentiments. Like the Public Schools, too, they have an authority structure which is maintained by the home and which is not disputed by the pupil.⁽²⁾ It is also interesting to note the extent to which grammar schools accept the

(2) For an interesting discussion of these factors see "The Public Schools: A Sociological Introduction" by Royston Lambert in The Public Schools: A Factual Survey by Graham Kalton, London, 1966.

Public Schools as a positive reference group by adopting the house system, compulsory games and school uniform. The private schools, however, carry this tendency much further, which accounts for the genteel elements within their system. They have also served those of relatively low social and educational status, but who were aspiring upwards, by providing the trappings of status based on the Public Schools. Consequently, they have tended to reinforce the ascriptive elements in education generally.

At the same time the private schools because of their ambiguous position in terms of social and educational status have tended to act as a negative reference group for the state and Public School sectors. Both sides have looked down on private schools as falling outside the major educational structure. The Public Schools have always refused to join the various defence organisations for independence in education sponsored by the Independent Schools Association. They have despised private schools as "run for private profit" without any need to refer to the public good for their existence. In this sense the concept of private profit has reinforced the value of public service in the Public School and grammar school tradition. It probably accounts for the extent to which private schools have been the objects of satire in literature ranging from the Dotheboys Hall of Dickens and Cavendish Academy of Wells to Waugh and Orwell.

The private school function of helping to maintain the existing status system has become more apparent since the 1944 Education Act. Before 1944 a certain proportion of grammar school places were either totally or partially exempt from fees and the remainder were fee-paying places. The abolition of fees in maintained schools in 1944 meant that children of low measured ability who might previously have been fee-payers could not find places any longer in grammar schools. This led to a rise in the demand for places in secondary schools in the independent sector. Not only has the abolition of fees in maintained grammar schools increased the demand for private school places from middle class parents, but the rise in the birth-rate and the general rise in the standard of living have increased the pressure on Public School places. Private schools have benefited on both sides in that they now take the rejects of both the grammar and Public Schools. The extent to which this has occurred may be judged by the statistics given in Chapter 7.

Existing on the fringe of the major educational structure, private schools have tended to be despised, yet, had they not fulfilled their function, much greater pressure would have been brought to bear on the Public and grammar schools. They have become in this century the educational ambulance men of the middle classes, picking up, as one Private Schools Association spokesman expressed it, "those who are intellectually the poor, the maimed, the halt, and the blind".⁽³⁾ Those who for whatever reason have failed to find a place in the major educational structure consonant with their social status have been catered for by private schools, provided their parents could pay the fees.

The existence of private schools over the period as a whole, particularly the tolerance by the state of inefficiency, is not wholly explained by the demand for this type of education. Liberal critics of education, like Sir Michael Sadler, whilst defending the principle of independence in education had advocated since the beginning of the century the compulsory inspection of all schools.

(3) Secondary Education, March 15, 1906, p. 31.

The independent sector started from a position of complete freedom. Anyone could start a school without restriction on what was taught or the condition of the premises. The extension of inspection, which existed in the elementary schools, to independent schools was seen by the middle classes as an intrusion which could only lower the status of the school. In the late nineteenth century the extension of the state system of education was seen as spreading education amongst those who were otherwise too poor to afford it. That one should pay for the education of one's children was taken as the norm. Some ministers, notably Forster and Mundella, thought that the state might give some guarantee of the quality of schools and teaching through a system of examination, inspection and registration. It was believed that the system could be entirely voluntary as support for those schools not recognised as efficient would fall away. There was never sufficient support for the view that all schools should be compulsorily inspected. The conflict between the two sides of the educational system in terms of status gave rise to the view that the Public Schools should be protected from outside interference at all costs. It was feared that the introduction of external influences would weaken the traditions of the Public Schools which were, in any case, the institutionalised form of the values of the ruling class. This conflict was one that could not be resolved without changing the status system of society.

Cabinets were composed of ex-public school men and the state sector was controlled by administrators and inspectors who had been educated in Public Schools. Consequently, in the subsequent legislation nothing appeared that would have influenced the Public School position. Independent schools were left to go their own way completely without compulsory inspection until the 1944 Act.

Conditions in many private schools were scandalous judged by the prevailing educational and moral standards. Consequently, private schools existed outside the major educational structure as an adaptive structure.⁽⁴⁾ The accepted educational values were not lived up to by many private schools which existed below the level of the dominant culture pattern. The dominant culture pattern, which would have demanded the maintenance of educational standards and the accepted morality in all schools, could not be applied to private schools without restriction. Otherwise it would have generated strains in the major structure which would have been more disruptive to that structure than the mitigations which would have been achieved by the application of the pattern to private schools. The influence of reform through inspection and control of private schools would also have had to be applied to the Public Schools. In this sense the conflict between the two sides of the major educational structure was not resolved, but was managed at the expense of tolerating the existence of many private schools that were generally regarded as unworthy.

(4) The term "adaptive structure" is used here in the sense that it is used in The Social System by Talcott Parsons, 1964 edn., p. 470.

An adaptive structure is a mode of behaviour which is not approved of within the dominant culture pattern of society but which enables that dominant pattern to adapt itself to stresses which might otherwise endanger its existence. For example, prostitution provides an outlet for deviant sexual behaviour: it may be seen as endangering marriage, but were it to be completely suppressed it might generate greater strains within marriage.

The 1944 Act made it plain that there was no intention of interfering with the conduct of Public Schools and Part III of the Act was introduced in 1957 to ensure that a Register of Independent Schools should be maintained to guarantee minimum standards. Since Recognition as Efficient is still applied for voluntarily, the independent sector has been left in much the same position as before. Registration has come to mean no more than that the education is not gravely deficient nor gravely immoral and gives no guarantee that the education is positively sound. Part III of the Act does not affect the curriculum, method of teaching or organisation of any school above the barest minimum. It means that many private schools are still tolerated as existing below the level of the dominant culture pattern. The fear that the insistence on any higher standards would involve interference with freedom in education is still operative.

Private schools have remained in continual existence over the period of this study as a result of the status division in the educational system which reflects the ascriptive/achievement division in the occupational structure. They have remained as an adaptive structure as any attempt to deal with the problem of educational efficiency would have interfered with the status division. Their function has been to relieve the pressure from the weak points of the educational structure and help to maintain the status system of society of which the educational structure is a reflection.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

The main sources consulted in compiling the information used in this study have been the records of the A.P.P.S., the P.S.A.I., and the I.S.A.I., with official sources and periodicals. A complete bibliography appears in the thesis quoted in the Preface. The notes that follow refer to the main private school journals and to official reports with major references to private schools.

Periodicals of A.P.P.S., P.S.A.I., and I.S.A.I.

A.P.P.S. Occasional Papers

This is the earliest material available directly concerned with the A.P.P.S. There is no trace of these Papers in the British Museum Library, but a bound volume containing the first two Papers is in the possession of the I.S.A.I. These Papers are undated, but clearly refer to 1879. The Occasional Papers were succeeded in 1880 by The Private Schoolmaster.

The Private Schoolmaster, 1880-1885 or 1886

This was a quarterly journal issued by the A.P.P.S. The first issue only, dated March 1880, is held by the British Museum. Numbers 2 and 3 which are undated, but clearly refer to 1880, are in the possession of the I.S.A.I. together with No. 1. An article in The Private Schoolmaster (see below), Nov. 15, 1888, p.6, refers to early numbers of The Private Schoolmaster (1880-1886) still being available and it quotes from issues from 1880 to 1885, but there is no trace of these later numbers.

The Private Schoolmaster, 1887-1891

This was a journal published privately by members of the A.P.P.S. and not officially sponsored by the Association. It contained many articles by members of the Association and recorded its affairs. The first number was dated Nov. 15, 1887 and the last issue was March, 1891.

Secondary Education, 1896-1928

This was instituted as the official journal of the P.S.A.I. The name was changed to The Independent School with the issue for March 1929 and the journal is still in existence. The first number was dated 1 October 1896. The British Union-Catalogue of Periodicals lists the British Museum as the only library holding Secondary Education, but, in fact, the Department of Education and Science Library has a complete holding from 1896 to 1928, though no holding of The Independent School. The British Museum holding is kept at the Newspaper Library, Colindale, The I.S.A.I. holding of Secondary Education only begins in 1906, though their holding of The Independent School is complete.

The Independent School, 1929-

This is the official journal of the I.S.A.I. The I.S.A.I. have a complete holding of the journal. The British Museum Newspaper Library, Colindale, has a complete holding except for the issue of Dec. 1931 which is missing. The University of London Institute of Education Library holds the journal from 1946. The British Union-Catalogue of Periodicals, 1958, also shows the Cambridge University Library and the Bodleian Library, Oxford, as holding the journal since 1929.

Official Sources Making Major References to Private Schools

Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the State of Popular Education in England, C. - 2794	1861
Schools Inquiry Commission, C. - 3966	1868
Special Report from the Select Committee on the Teachers' Registration and Organization Bill, B.P.P. 1890-91. XVII. 199	1891
Secondary Education Commission, C. - 7862	1895
Return of the Pupils in Public and Private Secondary and Other Schools (Not being Public Elementary or Technical Schools) in England, etc., C. - 8634	1898
Board of Education. Special Reports on Educational Subjects, Vol. 6, "Preparatory Schools for Boys, etc.", Cd. 418	1900
Reports of the Board of Education, Annual	1900 -
Board of Education. Report of the Departmental Committee on Private Schools and other Schools not in Receipt of Grants from Public Funds. H.M.S.O. 1932. 27-228	1932
Education Act, 1944. 7 & 8 Geo. 6. Ch. 31.	1944
Statistics of Education, Annual	1961 -
Education in 1958, Cmnd. 777	1959

Bibliography on Private Schools

A fuller bibliography on private schools appears in :-

Gordon Brian Robinson, "A study of the Private Schools Association (latterly Independent Schools) in relation to changing policies in the administration of education by national and local government agencies, 1880 - 1944", Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of London, 1966.

The bibliography is arranged under the following headings

- A. Introductory Note
- B. Periodicals of A.P.P.S., P.S.A.I. and I.S.A.I.
- C. Periodicals
 - (i) Frequently referring to private schools or matters affecting them.
 - (ii) Making occasional reference to private schools.
- D. Official Sources
- E. General
 - (i) Containing significant references to private schools or of importance for understanding the problems associated with them.
 - (ii) Providing background information or limited reference private schools.
- F. Unpublished Theses.
- G. Newspapers Consulted.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT

A.G.M.	Annual General Meeting
A.H.M.R.P.S.	Association of Head Mistresses of Recognised Private Schools
A.M.A.	Assistant Masters' Association
A.P.P.S.	Association of Principals of Private Schools
B.P.P.	British Parliamentary Papers
C.E.E.	Common Entrance Examination
Col.	Column
G.B.A.	Association of Governing Bodies of Public Schools
G.C.E.	General Certificate of Education
H.M.C.	Head Masters' Conference
H.M.I.	Her (or His) Majesty's Inspector
I.A.A.M.	Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters
I.A.P.S.	Incorporated Association of Preparatory Schools
I.S.A.I.	Independent Schools Association, Incorporated
L.E.A.	Local Education Authority
M.D.	Mentally Deficient
M.P.	Member of Parliament
N.S.P.C.C.	National Society of Prevention of Cruelty to Children
P.N.E.U.	Parents' National Education Union
P.S.A.	Private Schools Association
P.S.A.I.	Private Schools Association Incorporated
S.A.T.P.S.	Society of Assistants Teaching in Preparatory Schools

